The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME LXXIII, NUMBER 4 APRIL 1968

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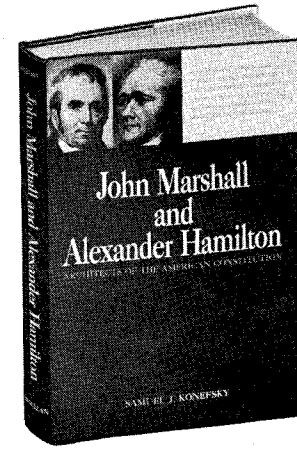
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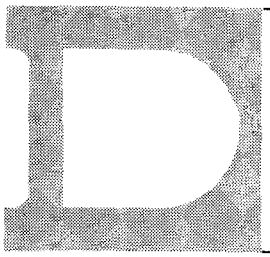
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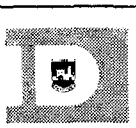
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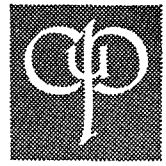
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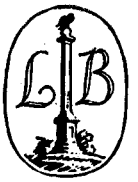
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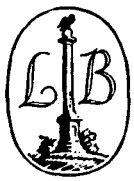
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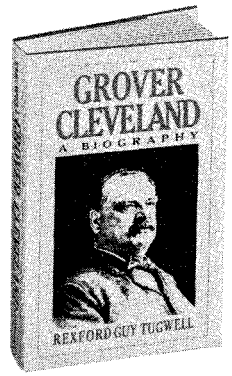
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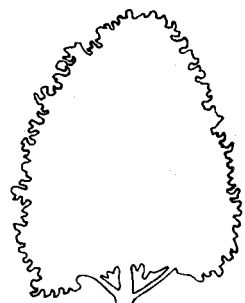
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Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources

PAUL J. ALEXANDER*

THE apocalypses contained in the Old and New Testaments, especially the Books of Daniel and of Revelation, as well as the many extant extracanonical apocalypses have been examined intensively by generations of scholars, most of them theologians.[1] The historian can learn much from such studies, yet their authors frequently concern themselves with historical matters only to the extent of explaining the historical allusions and prophecies *ex eventu* contained in these texts. The reverse problem—whether these ancient apocalypses may contain historical information not known from other historical sources—is rarely raised by modern scholarship, presumably because for the Jewish and early Christian periods when the best-known apocalypses were written, documentary and narrative sources provide fairly ample evidence. There is, consequently, little incentive to resort to such de-

* A professor at the University of Michigan, Mr. Alexander is the author of *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, Eng., 1958). He delivered an earlier version of this paper at the annual dinner of the Mediaeval Academy of America, New York City, December 28, 1966. The research on which this paper is based was carried out primarily in Rome, under fellowships from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, the Ford Foundation, and the Fulbright Organization, and a Summer Faculty Research Fellowship and several research grants from the Horace Rackham School of Graduate Studies at the University of Michigan.

[1] For Daniel, see, e.g., Otto Eissfeldt, *The History of the Formation of the Old Testament: An Introduction including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and also the Works of a Similar Type from Qumran* (Oxford, Eng., 1965), 512–29 (with full bibliography); on apocalypses outside the canon, see Emil Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (4th ed., 4 vols., Leipzig, 1901–1909), III, 258–370; on Revelation, see A. H. McNeile, *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* (2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1953), 260–65.

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liberately obscure texts as apocalypses. It is surprising, however, that apocalypses have not been used as historical sources for late ancient and early medieval times for which the documentation is less satisfactory and where every scrap of information must be used for the reconstruction of events. May not apocalyptic texts fill some of the gaps left by more conventional historical sources?

In all apocalypses, by the very nature of the genre, historical fact and eschatological prophecy intertwine. To separate the two, a historian must begin by asking a number of questions: Can he ascertain the date and place of composition of apocalyptic texts? Were they more or less evenly distributed in time and place, or were some occasions and localities especially favorable for the production of such writings? In what circles did they originate, and to what audiences were they addressed? For what purpose or purposes were apocalypses written, rewritten, copied, excerpted, and translated? What conventions did the writers follow? To what extent can apocalypses be used by the historian to corroborate historical facts contained in other, especially narrative, sources? What do they reveal concerning the reactions of individuals and groups to historical events, their judgments on the course of history, and their hopes and fears for the future? Only after disposing of such preliminary questions can the historian undertake with confidence the task of extracting from apocalyptic texts information unknown from other sources or of reaching, with the help of these texts, historical conclusions for which the evidence of the narrative sources is insufficient.

This paper will illustrate these problems by referring to a particular body of historical apocalypses, all of which are pseudonymous.[2] They claim to be the words of an ancient worthy either of classical myth (for instance a sibyl), or of the Biblical record (the prophet Daniel), or of the patristic tradition (Methodius); the true authors, however, are normally unknown. The texts were composed in what was, or had once been, Byzantine territory. They survive, or existed at one time, in the Greek language. All deal with Byzantine wars against the enemies of the Empire, notably against Persians and Arabs. In date of composition they extend from the early sixth to the ninth century. Here is the list: the Oracle of Baalbek, a prophecy of a Christian sibyl written in Greek prose at Baalbek in Phoenicia in the first years of the sixth century;[3] Syriac Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, com-

[2] I call apocalypses "historical" if they recapitulate historical events in the guise of prophecy (prophecies *ex eventu*), and I distinguish them from other apocalypses concerned primarily or exclusively with religious topics such as the afterlife.

[3] The text is unedited. I am publishing the *editio princeps* under the title *The Oracle of Baalbek, The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress,* "Dumbarton Oaks Studies," X (Washington, D. C., 1967). Wherever in this paper the Oracle of Baalbek is referred to, the documentation

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posed in the Syriac language in the seventh century;[4] First Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse;[5] Second Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse;[6] First Greek Vision of Daniel, of the ninth century;[7] Second Greek Vision of Daniel, also composed in the ninth century;[8] Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel, the translation of a lost Greek original that was composed in the ninth century.[9]

Discussion of this corpus of apocalypses may well begin with the problem of dating. The answer to this problem seems at first simple enough. Every apocalypse must have been written not long after the latest event to which it alludes. The sibyl in the Oracle of Baalbek, for instance, refers in detail to the defeats suffered by the Byzantine armies at the hands of the Persians under Emperor Anastasius I in 502 and 503, but says nothing of the military recovery of the period following the year 504, of the truce concluded in 505, or of the peace treaty of 506. It follows that in its present form the text was composed between 502 and 506, and this date is confirmed by further internal evidence.

The question next arises: how does one recognize the latest historical element referred to in an apocalypse? Usually it precedes immediately a passage in which the author shifts from history to eschatology. Thus in the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel the author gives a long list of Byzantine emperors. The last recognizable figure is Michael II of Amorion (820–829). His reign is followed immediately by a series of eschatological emperors, for instance, a tetrarchy of two Eastern and two Western rulers—

will be found in my book. Latin versions of this work have been known for a long time; see Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898; reprint, Turin, 1963), esp. 177–87.

[4] It is unpublished and occurs in *codex Vaticanus Syrus* 58, fols. 118–36, of the sixteenth century; see Michael Kmosko, "Das Rätsel des Pseudo-Methodius," *Byzantion*, VI (No. 1, 1931), 273–96, and description of the Vatican manuscript in St. E. and J. S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Manuscriptorum Catalogus* (3 vols., Rome, 1756–59) II, 342.

[5] *Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago i Apokrificheskiia Videnia Daniela v Vizantiiski i Slaviano-Russkoi Literaturakh* [Revelation of Methodius of Patara and Apocryphal Visions of Daniel in Byzantine and Slavo-Russian Literature], ed. V. M. Istrin, in the series *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestvie Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom Universitetie*, Nos. 191 and 193 (Moscow, 1897). Istrin's work is divided into two parts, each with a separate pagination: *Izsliedovie* [Research] and *Teksty* [Texts]. The First Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse is printed in *Teksty*, 5–50.

[6] The variants of the Second Version from the First are noted by Istrin in the *apparatus criticus* to his edition of the First Version.

[7] *Anecdota Graeca-Byzantina*, ed. Afanasii Vassiliev (Moscow, 1893), 33–38.

[8] *Ibid.*, 38–43.

[9] This text has been printed three times, first by P. S. Srechkovic, *Zbornik Popa Dragolia*, Srpska Kralievska Akademija, *Spomenik*, V (1890), 10–11 (from a manuscript, now lost, once No. 466 [632] of the Belgrade National Library, thirteenth century); then by Istrin, *Otkrovenie, Teksty*, 156–58 (from *codex Athos Chilandar* 24, twelfth or thirteenth century); again by P. A. Lavrov, *Apokrificheskie Teksty* [Apocryphal Texts], *Sbornik Otdeleniia Russkago Iazyka i Slovesnosti Imp. Akad. Nauk*, LXVII, No. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1899), 1–5 (from the Chilandar manuscript, with variants of the Belgrade codex noted in the *apparatus criticus*, but unfortunately without the beginning which is missing in the Chilandar manuscript).

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a feature to which no historical reality corresponded in the ninth century.[10] Consequently the list was composed under Michael II, for, if its author had lived under a later emperor, he would not have missed the opportunity of recording the reign of Michael's successors to authenticate his prophecies.

Sometimes the latest historical event is less easy to distinguish from genuine predictions. The Greek versions of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse mention the Muslim invasion of Africa but not of Spain. Consequently scholars have concluded that the Apocalypse must be later than the beginning of the Arab raids against the province of Africa in 670 and earlier than the conquest of Spain in 711.[11] The difficulty, however, is that in other sections of his book Pseudo-Methodius also refers to Muslim raids against Sicily and Greece,[12] and these did not occur until much later than any scholar would allow for the composition of the work. Pseudo-Methodius clearly lived in the seventh century, was observing the rapid and irresistible advance of the Arab armed forces, and prophesied, on the analogy of past Arab progress, that even geographic areas that had not yet been exposed to Muslim attacks would soon succumb to the infidels. It will not do to interpret every apocalyptic prophecy as a *vaticinium ex eventu* and to base the date of apocalyptic documents on such an assumption. In interpreting an apocalypse the historian should never lose sight of the possibility that the author may have been an intelligent observer of current affairs and have at-

[10] I translate as literally as possible: ". . . And the horns that I saw are the Roman emperors. They will arise in the last days. The first [emperor] will lift his hand against the son, and afterward he will rule five years. Woe to Thee, Babylon of the Seven Hills [Constantinople], that in Thee the Amazon will rule. A second horn [or, scepter] will arise, another emperor from the Gothic race who has the number 812 [?], and his imperial power will be strong and powerful. In his days there will go forth a strong people and it will struggle with him. And that people will flee from his face, and afterward that people will return, for he [the angel] said: finally that emperor will weaken and become powerless and will give up his soul miserably. Then another horn [or, scepter] will arise from his seed. He will be short lived above all others. Another horn [or, scepter] will arise, his name will be angelic, and he will hold his [i.e., his predecessor's] throne. A fifth horn will arise and go forth seven years. And afterward there will arise another horn [or, scepter] from the first imperial letter. And while he occupies the throne, another horn [or, scepter] [will arise]. And they will blaspheme against the Highest [God]. And because of this blasphemy he will perish miserably and they will lead him to the *Kynēgion*." The Byzantine emperors or empresses here referred to are Irene (797–802), who blinded her son Constantine VI; Nicephorus (802–811), killed on a campaign against the Bulgars; his son Stauracius (July 26–October 2, 811); Michael I (811–813); Leo V (813–820); Michael II (820–829), founder of the Amorian dynasty, a moderate iconoclast. The text probably also refers to Michael's son Theophilus who became coemperor in 821. All the emperors that follow in the text are the product of eschatological fantasy. The writer predicts that Michael II will be led to the *lovec* (literally, "hunter"), but this does not make sense. I interpret it as a literal translation of the Greek word *kynēgos* or *kynēgion*, meaning "hunter" or "hunt," respectively. These were also the designations of quarters of the city of Constantinople. In the *Kynēgion*, in particular, criminals were frequently executed (Raymond Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine* [2d ed., Paris, 1964], 376–77). Thus the author seems to predict a violent end for Michael II. In reality, Michael died a natural death, from a disease of the kidney, another indication that the author wrote under Michael II.

[11] First Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse, *Otkrovenie*, ed. Istrin, *Teksty*, 42, 8 (Africa); see Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte*, 45–46.

[12] First Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse, *Otkrovenie*, ed. Istrin, *Teksty*, 29, 2–4; 42, 8.

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tempted genuine prophecies of future happenings based on his appraisal of the direction in which events were moving.[13]

Another notorious difficulty in dating an apocalypse is the essential instability of numerals in apocalyptic texts. This is illustrated in crude and drastic fashion in the text tradition of the Oracle of Baalbek. The fourth-century source of the text predicted that the city of Byzantium, refounded by Constantine the Great at the beginning of the century, would cease to rule the Empire before sixty years had elapsed. A sixth-century editor at Heliopolis in Phoenicia, obviously perplexed that Constantinople was still the imperial capital, adjusted this figure to "thrice sixty years," and a medieval successor, active in or before the twelfth century, observing that even the "thrice sixty years" had elapsed and that Constantinople was tenaciously clinging to its imperial position, played it safe and resolutely changed the numerals into "thrice six hundred years." Undoubtedly, he would, had he lived long enough, have noted with satisfaction the captures of the city on the Bosporus by the Latin crusaders in 1204, by the Ottoman Turks in 1453, and by the Allied armies at the end of World War I.

Less transparent is another case of tampering with an apocalyptic time span. Pseudo-Methodius prophesied that Arab domination would end after the lapse of a certain number of "year-weeks" or intervals of seven years. This was the unit of time popular among apocalyptic writers because it was employed in the classical prototype, the canonical Book of Daniel (9:24). The number of year-weeks is given as "ten" in the only extant manuscript of the Syriac original of Pseudo-Methodius, as "seven" in some Greek manuscripts, and as "seventeen" in others.[14] Since Muslim rule in Mesopotamia ended neither after seven year-weeks, that is around 689, nor after ten year-weeks (around 710), nor indeed after the lapse of seventeen of these units (around 751), this is clearly a genuine prophecy that was not fulfilled. If it were not for the "numbers game" played by the copyists and editors of apocalypses, such an unfulfilled prophecy would furnish a valuable *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the original text. In fact, the more one studies apocalyptic writings, the more one comes to distrust numerals

[13] When a series of events is mentioned in an apocalypse, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the latest event, or events, in the series is historical. Thus it will be seen below that the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel speaks of an unsuccessful Arab siege of Enna in Sicily, which must have taken place in 827 or 828. Now it is true that Enna did not fall to the Muslims until 859, but one wonders whether the mention of the Arab failure before Enna reflects historical fact or wishful thinking. In the latter case, the text was written while the siege was going on; in the former, at some time after the event.

[14] Syriac original of Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, in *codex Vaticanus Syrus* 58, fol. 122 verso: "And after those ten weeks of years they [the Arabs] also will be overpowered and subjected to the Kingdom of Rome. . . ." First Greek Version of Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, *Otkrovenie,* ed. Istrin, *Teksty,* 15, 10: seventeen weeks according to some manuscripts, seven weeks of years according to others.

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indicating a time span even in cases where the surviving manuscript evidence does not point to the existence of textual variants.[15] The lapse of time and the course of historical events practically forced every copyist of apocalyptic numerals to turn editor if he had any respect for the prophetic merits of the author whose prophecies he was copying.

The emergence of apocalyptic texts, and especially their cumulation, at particular moments in history may interest the historian because it may serve as a kind of barometer for the measuring of eschatological pressures at a given time in history.[16] For example, no less than three apocalyptic writings were composed about A.D. 500: the Oracle of Baalbek; a "Seventh Vision of Daniel" preserved in Armenian only but derived from a lost Byzantine original;[17] and a "Very Brief Chronicle" referred to in the *Theosophy of Tübingen*.[18] Why did apocalyptic texts pile up at that particular time? The last of the three documents gives an answer. It stated specifically that the world would end six thousand years after its creation,[19] that is, either in 501 or 507–508 according to the chronological era used. Because certain millenarian circles around A.D. 500 expected the end of the world to occur momentarily, a considerable number of apocalypses were produced. This is not to say that apocalypses always or even regularly owed their composition to calculations of the end of the world, but the example may illustrate the general proposition that the mere fact of the emergence or of the copying of apocalyptic texts at any particular time may be a matter of historical interest.

As important for the historian as the date of an apocalyptic text is its place of composition. For while it is possible, or even likely, that an author writing in the area where particular historical events took place may have preserved reliable information on these happenings, it is, prima facie, less likely that such data may be found in a source written at the other end of the Empire. To events mentioned in an apocalypse the historian will therefore attach much greater weight if they took place in the vicinity of the

[15] I am not referring here to the well-known tendency of all scribes of miscopying numerals by inadvertence. In apocalytic texts, numerals are exposed to the additional danger of deliberate changes.

[16] On the famous question whether or not there was a general expectation in Western Europe that the world would end in the year 1000, see Alexander A. Vasiliev, "Medieval Ideas of the End of the World," *Byzantion*, XVI (No. 2, 1942–43), 462–502, esp. 478–87.

[17] Most convenient translation into French by Frédéric Macler in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XXXIII (No. 6, 1896), 290–309.

[18] *Fragmente Griechischer Theosophien*, ed. Hartmut Erbse, "Hamburger Arbeiten zur Altertumswissenschaft," No. 4 (Hamburg, 1941).

[19] *Ibid.*, 2–3, 167, 15–20; see also Hilarianus, *De Cursu Temporum*, ed. Karl Frick, in *Chronica Minora* (Leipzig, 1893), 170–71, who wrote his treatise in A.D. 397 and expected the world to end after 101 years, that is, in 498. (Professor John Eadie of the University of Michigan furnished this information.) The passage shows that the expectation of the world ending around A.D. 500 existed at least a century prior to that year and was based primarily on chiliastic calculations and combinations, rather than on particular historical events in the late fifth or early sixth century.

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author's place of residence rather than if they happened in an area beyond the reach of his sources of information. An apocalyptic description of political, economic, or religious conditions couched in general terms, moreover, becomes meaningful to the historian only if he can identify the areas about which the author is writing. Such descriptions are particularly notable in the Syriac and Greek texts of the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius. It is therefore important to realize that the Syriac original was composed in Mesopotamia, as I hope to show elsewhere, rather than in Syria, as other students of the document thought probable.[20]

Frequently, therefore, it becomes imperative to identify the places and regions mentioned in a particular apocalyptic text, and this may also be a difficult or indeed a hopeless task. It would be important, for example, to identify some of the localities mentioned in the Second Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse. It is true that the author writes of Asia Minor, of Caesarea, and of the Maeander. He means presumably Asia Minor, Caesarea in Cappadocia, and the River Maeander. But where were the localities called Gephyra and Chortoranon (or Chartokoran or Chartokoranon, the spellings of other manuscripts) situated where an unnamed emperor would fight battles against the Arabs?[21] It would be interesting to clarify this problem, for the author seems here to preserve information on armed conflicts between Byzantines and Arabs that are not mentioned in the narrative sources of either side. Almost as difficult are certain place names mentioned in the Second Greek Vision of Daniel. It refers to two localities, Mariana and Elinia. Now the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel, which, as mentioned before, derives from a lost Greek original, contains a passage mentioning these two localities, but in lieu of the mysterious toponym Elinia it reads "Enna," which when written in Greek uncial script invited corruption into something akin to Elinia.[22] Now Enna is the famous natural, steep, wind-swept fortress at the geographic center of Sicily. The other lo-

[20] Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte,* 53–55, who in 1898 was unaware of the Syriac text, considered either an Alexandrian or a Syrian origin, tended toward the latter alternative, but also realized the influence of Babylonian and Persian influences on the author. I have developed my reasons for the Mesopotamian origin of the text in a paper delivered before the Twenty-seventh International Congress of Orientalists in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in August 1967.

[21] The passage relevant in the present context will be found in *Otkrovenie,* ed. Istrin, *Teksty,* 41, in the *apparatus criticus.*

[22] Greek text, *Anecdota Graeca-Byzantina,* ed. Vassiliev, 39, 13: "And afterward the sons of Ismael [i.e., the Arabs] will be struck by fear and will cry out with a loud voice and will flee to Mariana. And afterward the sons of Ismael will once again attack the territory of Elinia." The corresponding passage in the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel (*Apokrificheskie Teksty,* ed. Lavrov, 3, 4) reads: "And the Ismaelites will go forth into the extremity of the island and will take many prisoners until they will come to a place called Mariianii, and the rebel will install them in that place. And they will come to a place called Ienna, and they will come to its aid, and they will not capture it." Clearly in the Greek text a copyist misread the first uncial letter *ny* in the place name Enna for *lambda* plus *iota,* so that "Enna" was corrupted into "Elinia."

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cality mentioned in the text, Mariana, cannot be identified, but it, too, must be situated in Sicily.[23] In addition, the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel shows that two meaningless words in the First Greek Vision of Daniel are a corruption of the celebrated suburb of Syracuse, Achradina.[24] My point here is not so much that the Old Church Slavonic translation has preserved some Sicilian place names better than the Greek tradition, but rather that in the latter all Sicilian place names without exception have been corrupted beyond recognition. Without the Old Church Slavonic text not even the most ingenious historian could suspect that the Greek Visions of Daniel refer to Sicily. With the help of these identifications of place names in the Old Church Slavonic text, however, the Greek Visions of Daniel, as well as the Old Church Slavonic document itself, emerge as precious new sources for the history of the Muslim conquest of the island.[25]

Even this, however, is merely an instance of the miscopying of place names common in all classical or medieval texts. To such corruptions by scribal error should be added another kind of instability in nomenclature that was specific to apocalyptic texts. They were living texts, and each copyist was tempted to adapt geographical, as well as chronological, data to his own historical experience. A striking example occurs in the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel dealing with the Arab invasion of Sicily. One of its manuscripts, of the thirteenth century, exhibits the disconcerting habit of adding to several Sicilian toponyms, without any kind of syntactical link, the name of a Slavic river or town. So far I have identified Dunaia (the Danube), Sredec (the modern Sofia), Pernik, Velbuzhd, and Strumica (all southwest of Sofia). The other localities mentioned (Glavinica, Mraky,

[23] In spite of much searching in works on the historical geography of Sicily, I have been unable to clear up this point. Place names ending with *-ianum* or *-iana,* so frequent on the Italian mainland and usually reflecting the previous existence of a Roman *fundus,* were much more frequent in Sicily before the Arab conquest than they are now. (See Adolf Holm in a review of Giovanni Flechia's *Nomi Locali del Napolitano derivati da gentilizi Italici,* in *Atti della reale accademia delle scienze di Torino,* X [No. 1, 1874], in *Bursian's Jahresbericht für die Fortschritte der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* IV [No. 2, 1877], 83–84.) One thinks naturally of the modern town of Marianopoli, west of Enna. It was founded in the nineteenth century, but its name may possibly derive from a village named after an (unattested) *fundus Marianus.*

[24] First Greek Vision of Daniel, *Anecdota Graeca-Byzantina,* ed. Vassiliev, 36, 21: καὶ τουτον κρατήσαντες ἀπάξουσιν αὐτὸν μέχρι δίνης κἀκει χρίσουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς βασιλέα κτλ. The corresponding passage in the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel runs in translation (*Apokrificheskie Teksty,* ed. Lavrov, 3, 20): "and they will lead him to Askrodun [variant, Akrodun] and forthwith they will anoint him emperor."

[25] Because the references to Sicilian place names in the Old Church Slavonic and Greek Visions of Daniel have not been recognized before, these texts have escaped the attention of historians of the Arab conquest of Sicily. Several years ago I called these texts to the attention of a historian of art, Signora Angela Daneu Lattanzi, who used them in her *Lineamenti di Storia della Miniatura in Sicilia* (Florence, 1965), 12–13. I plan to utilize these texts more fully in a separate study of the Muslim invasion of Sicily. In this paper only a few of the more obvious conclusions will be developed.

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and Khlimy) presumably were also located in Bulgaria.[26] It is easy to imagine what happened. As the Slavonic text was copied and recopied, a scribe, either the individual whose copy is preserved or one of his predecessors, imagined that what was in fact a *vaticinium ex eventu* of the Muslim conquest of Sicily was a genuine prophecy and that this prophecy had found its fulfillment in events occurring in his native Bulgaria.[27] He marked this fulfillment in his manuscript by inserting, perhaps in form of marginal glosses, the Slavic names of the places where the fulfillment supposedly occurred. One shudders to think what was bound to happen in the process of further copying of the Slavonic text. Sooner or later the familiar Slavonic toponyms would inevitably displace the less familiar Sicilian place names, and the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel would thus be deprived of much of its relevance to the historian.

It is not enough, of course, to know when and where a particular apocalypse was composed. The historian can evaluate the detailed information that it contains only if he also understands the purposes of the apocalyptic writer and the methods he employed. Only then can the historian discount the specific bias of the text.

Most apocalypses were written to provide comfort in time of tribulation, particularly during grave military crises. Such consolation may be material or otherworldly. Thus the Oracle of Baalbek was composed to announce that the disasters of the Persian War under Anastasius would be followed by the Second Coming of Christ. The First Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse in turn prophesied that the Arab domination of the Near East would be ended by a Roman or Byzantine emperor who would drive the Muslims back into the desert and impose upon them a yoke a hundred times heavier than had been that of Muslims over Christians.[28] Similarly the Greek Visions of Daniel knew of a last emperor of Rome who would defeat the Arabs in a great battle. Such references to military victories over a national enemy were meant to be expressions of hope and encouragement, especially if mentioned at the end of a long series of military disasters, and it would be an egregious error to interpret them as *vaticinia post eventum*.

Hopes for the redress of economic and fiscal evils, especially those caused by war, also played a role in some of the apocalypses. The First Greek Version of the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, for example, predicted that after the end of Arab domination prisoners made by the defeated enemy

[26] The Balkan place names mentioned above in the text are inserted into the Belgrade manuscript of the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel. (See the *apparatus criticus*, *Apokrificheskie Teksty*, ed. Lavrov, 2–3.)

[27] I have so far been unsuccessful in ascertaining which invasion of Bulgaria by which people the scribe had in mind.

[28] *Otkrovenie*, ed. Istrin, *Teksty*, 41, 1; 42, 1.

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would return to their native places and recover their property.[29] Similarly, the Oracle of Baalbek knew of a messianic ruler who "will grant an exemption from paying a public tax and will restore all the people of the entire East and of Palestine."

This consolatory function of apocalyptic literature may on occasion be accompanied by another that may be as close to the heart of the writer. The Syriac and Greek Apocalypses of Pseudo-Methodius, for example, had, in addition, a polemical purpose. The author argued explicitly against anonymous opponents who interpreted Psalm 68:31 ("Ethiopia shall haste to stretch out her hands unto God") as indicating that liberation from the Muslim yoke would come from the ruler of Ethiopia.[30] Against their thesis the author established, with a wealth of Biblical and historical (or pseudo-historical) documentation, his own conviction that the Near East would be saved by a Byzantine ruler. This is all the more remarkable as the author of the Syriac original was a Monophysite.[31] Consequently, if doctrinal considerations had been all-important to him, he, like his opponents, should have relied for aid on the Monophysite ruler of Ethiopia rather than on the Chalcedonian monarch at Byzantium. Sectarian attitudes and polemics did indeed play a role in the sibyl's apocalypse of the early sixth century, but in the later texts doctrinal positions (Monophysitism, Monotheletism, Iconoclasm) were ignored. This may be due to either or both of two reasons. It may have been felt, in the circles to which the apocalyptic writers belonged and for whom they wrote, that sectarian differences separating the Christians should be ignored in face of the common Muslim danger. Alternately, these circles may have had little interest in theological controversy.

With regard to the procedures and methods employed by apocalyptic writers, mention has already been made of the tendency of apocalyptists to tamper with numerals and place names whenever the course of history seemed to prove that a prophecy had not been fulfilled during the period stipulated in the original text or had been fulfilled near the editor's place of residence. But this is only a particular application of a general principle governing the procedures of apocalyptic writers. Whenever later events seemed to fulfill an apocalyptic prophecy, the text of the apocalypse tended to be brought in harmony with its alleged fulfillment. Some of these changes

[29] *Ibid.*, 42, 8.

[30] For the Greek text, see *ibid.*, 22, 16: "some persons (*tines*) supposed that Saint David, in saying this [Psalm 68:31], hinted at the kingdom of the Ethiopians. But those who thought so were in error. . . ." The Syriac original (*codex Vaticanus Syrus* 58, fol. 126 recto) is more explicit: "However, many brethren of the clergy suppose that the blessed David spoke this word [Psalm 68:31] concerning the kingdom of the Cushites. And those who think so err. . . ."

[31] The author's unnamed opponents must have been Monophysites as they pinned their hopes of liberation from Muslim domination on the only Monophysite ruler, the king of Ethiopia. Therefore the author, too, was a Monophysite as he referred to his opponents as "brethren of the clergy." (See note 30, above.)

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were drastic. At some time prior to the twelfth century it must have proved embarrassing that in the seventh century the First Greek Version of the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius had prophesied a final Byzantine victory over "Turks and Avars,"[32] for by the eleventh century a number of Turkish peoples (Pechenegs, Seljuks, and so forth) were harassing the Empire most effectively. But this situation was remedied easily enough, for when the book was translated for the first time into Old Church Slavonic, a particular Turkish tribe, the Ugurs, had been substituted for the Turks, and this Turkish people had indeed disappeared in the mid-Byzantine period.[33] Thus did a later editor safeguard the prophetic prestige of Pseudo-Methodius.

Yet even the Greek text of this apocalypse had adjusted certain prophecies of the Syriac original to the course of events. The Syriac text knew of an archetypal invasion of Israel by Midianites at the time of the Hebrew Judges and mentioned their four leaders in accordance with the Old Testament, Oreb and Zeêb, Zebel and Zalmunna (Judg. 8). Several manuscripts of the Greek translation, however, call these four Midianite leaders "sons of Umayya,"[34] obviously because the translator believed that Pseudo-Methodius' prophecy had found its fulfillment at the time of the Umayyad rulers of Damascus. Another instance of an older prophecy being adapted to later events occurs in the Oracle of Baalbek. Here a fragment originally referring to the activities of a Roman general at Hierapolis near the Euphrates under the Emperor Constantius II was in later versions lifted bodily from its fourth-century context and relocated in the reign of Theodosius II in the fifth century, presumably because the later author held that this "prophecy" had found its fulfillment during the Persian Wars under the later Emperor.

These examples may serve as illustrations for a type of *aggiornamento* wherein a later editor brought details of earlier prophecies into harmony with the course of history by tampering with the text. In other cases the text of an earlier apocalypse was brought up to date by the insertion of a larger or smaller body of historical events that occurred in the intervening years. The original Greek text of the Oracle of Baalbek, for example, had reached down to the reign of Theodosius the Great, but, when the text was re-edited in the early sixth century, the later editor inserted a brief chronicle of the period from Theodosius to Anastasius, that is, of roughly one century, couched *more apocalyptico* in the future tense.

The preceding remarks about the dating, geographic provenance, pur-

[32] *Otkrovenie*, ed. Istrin, *Teksty*, 26, 1.
[33] *Ibid.*, 92, 25.
[34] *Ibid.*, 14, 3, and *apparatus criticus*.

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poses, and methods of apocalyptic writers naturally lead to the consideration of the historical information contained in apocalyptic texts. Without exception they recorded historical events in the guise of prophecy and thus confirmed data known from other sources. Thus the Oracle of Baalbek, as stated before, included a brief chronicle of the fifth century, especially of the invasion of Asia Minor by Persians and Isaurians and of the Balkan Peninsula by the Huns during the fifth century. The First Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse furnished some details on the Arab invasion of the Fertile Crescent, in particular on the Arab victory over the Byzantine armies in the Battle of the River Jarmuk in 636, and spoke in general terms about the Arab conquest of Sassanid Persia.[35] The Greek and Old Church Slavonic Visions of Daniel in turn concerned the Muslim advance in Sicily at the beginning of the ninth century.[36]

At least as interesting as corroborative evidence of this kind were the reactions to historical events expressed by apocalyptic writers, their judgments on the course of history, and their expectations for the future. In the early years of the sixth century the Oracle of Baalbek despaired of the cities destroyed by Isaurian raiders at the beginning of the preceding century ever being restored or of the city of Rome recovering its imperial position after the sack by the Vandals in 455. In the author's opinion the reign of Leo I marked the beginning of the end for the Roman Empire. Where the author attempted to give an explanation for the disasters of the fifth century, such as the depredations by Huns and Vandals, he expressed a simple kind of moralism by stating, for example, that such events were due to Roman treachery or greed or that emperors who espoused heretical positions lost their throne. According to the Greek Versions of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse, the Roman Empire would last to the end of time because it possessed a powerful talisman, the relic of the true Cross on which Jesus was crucified and which bestowed victory upon its owner over all his enemies. The author explained the Muslim victories over the Byzantine armies not, as was apparently done in certain Christian circles in Mesopotamia whose faith was shaken by the military successes of the infidels, as acts of divine partiality for the Arabs, but by Christian iniquity and sinfulness. The Arabs would be God's tool for the punishment of the Christians, but after a period of 49 (or 70 or 119) years of their rule over Christians they would become overconfident, would publicly deny God's ability to deliver his flock, and would, because of this blasphemy, be defeated and subdued by a Christian

[35] On the Battle of the Jarmuk, see *ibid.*, 26, 11 (the author localizes the battle at the nearby town of Gabaon), and Kmosko, "Das Rätsel des Pseudo-Methodius," 286.

[36] See pages 1003–1004, above.

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emperor.[37] These naïve views about the irreversibility of the historical process, these moralist explanations of historical events as divine retribution for human sin, and this somewhat mechanistic pattern of military success breeding excessive self-confidence and blasphemy are features familiar from certain books of the Old Testament, for instance from Judges, and are faint echoes from Jewish prophecy and apocalyptic, the ultimate source of Eastern as well as Western Christian apocalyptic thought.

It is to be expected that in addition to confirming historical facts known from other sources and expressing their judgments and evaluations of historical events and situations, apocalyptic writers should on occasion mention historical information not discussed elsewhere. In this connection it is vital to grasp clearly the reason why apocalyptic writers normally prefaced their genuine prophecies of the future with *vaticinia ex eventu* referring to events of the past. The motive for this practice was invariably a desire to establish their prophetic authority and thus win credence for their genuine predictions. It follows that the historical information contained in *vaticinia ex eventu* cannot be of their own invention or knowingly incorrect, for they obviously would defeat their own purpose if they attempted to validate their prophecies by invented or consciously false data about the past.[38]

One example of new information occurred in the Oracle of Baalbek. Here the sibyl spoke of Constantine the Great rebuilding the city of Byzantium and predicted that the name of this city would be altered to Eudocopolis-Constantinopolis. To the best of my knowledge this double name for the new capital is unattested elsewhere, and as it stands this information cannot be correct. Eudocopolis was obviously a dynastic name and must have referred to Theodosius II's Empress Eudocia (who died in 460). It is impossible that Constantine the Great should have named his new city after a fifth-century empress. Yet it is quite plausible that a part of the city enclosed behind the new land and sea walls erected during the reign of Theodosius II should have been named after the Empress. These grandiose walls, which to the present day demonstrate the past might of the new capital on the Bosporus, protected a territory much larger than had the Constantinian walls of the preceding century.[39] The sea walls were built by a

[37] *Otkrovenie,* ed. Istrin, *Teksty,* 23, 7 (Cross as talisman of Empire); see also *ibid.,* 15, 13; 27, 9 (Muslim successes not due to God's favor for Muslims but to Christian lawlessness); *ibid.,* 37–39 (Arab overconfidence and blasphemy).

[38] This does not imply, of course, that historical information contained in *vaticinia ex eventu* is always objectively correct. It merely indicates that such information has the same claim to serious consideration by the historian as do facts reported in the conventional sources such as histories, chronicles, letters, and so forth. Like data contained in other sources, it may turn out to be mistaken, biased, or confused.

[39] Raymond Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine* (2d ed., Paris, 1964), 32.

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favorite of the Empress Eudocia, the city prefect (later also praetorian prefect of the East) Cyrus.[40] In fact, the Empress Eudocia played an important role in the history of later Roman urbanism. No less than three cities in Asia Minor were named Eudocias after her, and upon her retirement to Jerusalem in 443 she built a new southern wall for the sacred city.[41] It was a custom in antiquity to give a new quarter of a city a dynastic name. Thus it is indeed probable that the Oracle of Baalbek preserved a faint memory of the Empress Eudocia's concern for the enlargement, protection, and beautification of the imperial capital.

The greatest amount of novel historical information, however, was contained in the Visions of Daniel and especially in the Old Church Slavonic text. As I have already pointed out, this document gave, among other things, an account of a Muslim invasion of Sicily; in fact, it referred to the first years of the Muslim attack on the island, the period from 827 to 829.[42] It is no exaggeration to say that this event can claim its place in world history, for it resulted eventually not only in the Arab conquest of the entire island but also in the Muslim occupation of considerable parts of southern Italy and in the confrontation of Western and Arab civilizations in these areas. It will therefore be worthwhile to recapitulate the present state of knowledge concerning this event and then to discuss the contribution made by the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel.

Our knowledge of the invasion has come from two Arab historians, Ibn-al-Athir (who died in 1233) and Nuwairi (who died in 1332); from one Byzantine historical source of the tenth century, the so-called Continuator of Theophanes; and from two Latin chronicles written in Naples and Salerno during the ninth and tenth centuries, respectively.[43] The principal modern authorities are the great Sicilian historian Michele Amari, the late Alexander A. Vasiliev, and J. B. Bury, none of whom used the Old Church

[40] J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (reprint, 2 vols., New York, 1958), I, 72; Ernest Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (2 vols., Paris, 1949–59), I, 294.

[41] On cities in Asia Minor named after Eudocia, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Roman Provinces* (Oxford, Eng., 1937), 69, 109, 137, 144; on the southern wall at Jerusalem, see Hughes Vincent and Félix Abel, *Jérusalem* (2 vols., Paris, 1914–26), II, 910–11.

[42] The principal reason for this statement is that the text mentioned a "rebel" facilitating the Arab seizure of the town of Mariana (see note 22, above). The "rebel" cannot be anyone but Euphemius who was assassinated during the Arab siege of Enna in 828–829. (Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* [2d ed., 3 vols., Catania, 1933–39], I, 411–12; J. B. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* [London, 1912], 302; Alexander A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* [2 vols., Brussels, 1935–50], I, 83–84.)

[43] Italian translation of the principal Arabic sources by Michele Amari, *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula* (2 vols. and Appendix, Turin, 1880–89), I, 364–68; II, 113–17 (French tr. by Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 356–59, 379–81); Theophanes Continuatus in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (49 vols., Bonn, 1828–78), 81–82; *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. Ulla Westerbergh, "Studia Latina Stockholmiensia," No. 3 (Stockholm, 1956), 59; an earlier edition of the same text was that published in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, ed. G. H. Pertz (32 vols., Hanover, 1826–1934), III, 498; Johannes Diaconus Neapolitanus, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum* (Hanover, 1878), 429.

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Slavonic Vision of Daniel.[44] They agreed that the Arab invasion of Sicily was the consequence of a Sicilian revolt against the Byzantine Emperor Michael II, but they differed about the chronology of this event. Amari was of the opinion that the Sicilian revolt began as early as 821 when Michael II was threatened by an even more dangerous rebellion in Asia Minor, that of Thomas the Slav. Around five years later, or about 826 according to Amari, the Emperor appointed a new governor of Sicily called either Constantine or Photinus who in turn entrusted a naval command to Euphemius. Amari thus postulated two stages in the Sicilian revolt, interrupted by an interval during which the island recognized the government of Michael II: one period beginning in 821 in which Euphemius played no role, and another starting in 826 in which he was the key figure. Later tradition telescoped these two stages into one.

Vasiliev rejected this view of Amari's as "fantastic," Bury held that Amari's proofs were insufficient, and both accordingly dated the beginning of the Sicilian revolt in 826–827. In that year, Euphemius, one of the Byzantine turmarchs or commanders stationed in Sicilian waters, was in danger of being arrested by the governor of the island on personal orders from the Emperor. He decided to revolt. The reason for the imperial order was not given in the Arabic sources, but the Greek and Latin historians told a romantic tale according to which Euphemius had married a nun, against her will and in violation of canonical and secular legislation. Neither Amari nor Vasiliev was satisfied that this story provided an adequate explanation for Euphemius' revolt and suspected that political considerations were the true reason for it.[45] Neither scholar nor anyone else, however, could specify what these political considerations might have been.

At any rate, Euphemius and some of his colleagues of the imperial navy seized Syracuse by a *coup de main* and defeated the governor in battle. The latter fled to Catania, but was captured and executed, and Euphemius was proclaimed emperor. In this capacity he rewarded some of his followers with administrative appointments. In particular he named a new governor of

[44] Amari, *Storia,* I, esp. 367–417; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes,* I, 61–88; Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire,* 294–308, 478–80; see also Adolf Holm, *Geschichte Siziliens* (3 vols., Leipzig, 1870–98), III, 327–33; Agostino Rossi, "Delle Cause della Sollevazione di Eufemio contro la Dominazione Bizantina in Sicilia," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali Storiche Filologiche,* Ser. V, XIII (1904), 198–233; L. M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter* (4 vols., Gotha, 1897–1915), III, Pt. 1, 161–93; Biagio Pace, *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica* (4 vols., Rome, 1935–49), IV, 126–34. The work of Amari remains fundamental.

[45] See Amari, *Storia,* I, 378; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes,* I, 71: "Il va de soi qu'il ne faut pas chercher la cause du soulèvement d'Euphémios dans son mariage romanesque. La politique, on s'en doute, primait ici . . ."; Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire,* 479, is aware that Amari and Vasiliev "think it likely that in his action in regard to Euphemius Michael was influenced by political reasons and used the matrimonial delinquency as a pretext," but does not press the matter further.

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Sicily to whom the Arabic sources refer as Balata. Balata, however, played false and declared against Euphemius as the Arabic sources say, or for the Emperor Michael as the modern authors put it.[46] He assembled a large army, defeated Euphemius in battle, and forced him to leave Syracuse. Euphemius and a part of the navy then crossed the Sicilian Channel, which separates Sicily from North Africa, and asked the Aghlabid ruler of Kairouan to come to his aid. In consequence an Arab fleet landed in Mazara, at the western extremity of Sicily, on June 17, 827, and marched upon Syracuse. At Syracuse the Arabs failed after a long siege, mainly because of a famine and plague that harassed them. Their land army withdrew. One part of it, accompanied by Euphemius and his partisans, marched upon Enna and began the siege of that fortress. In the course of this siege, in 828–829, Euphemius was killed, according to the Arab chronicler, but one Greek source placed his assassination slightly earlier while the siege of Syracuse was still in progress. On this occasion the Arabs did not succeed in capturing Enna; in fact, the city successfully resisted a great number of Arab assaults until it was finally taken in 859. The last stages in the Arab conquest of Sicily were the fall of Syracuse in 878 and that of Taormina in 902.

Such in brief is the story of the Arab conquest of Sicily as it emerges from the narrative sources. The new data supplied by the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel must now be fitted into this framework. It told the Sicilian story, in the form of a prophecy, in six acts, which may be summarized as follows:

Act I: The Byzantine Emperor sent messengers to the western provinces. They arrived at Syracuse, and the Emperor was insulted.

Act II: A rebellion occurred at Syracuse, and the rebels were killed.

Act III: Disorders erupted at Syracuse; two rebels arose and fought at Achradina.

Act IV: From Syracuse came a pregnant woman; her brother died, and she gave birth to a child and grieved.

Act V: The Arabs landed at the extremity of Sicily, ravaged the island, arrived at Mariana, and the rebel established them in that city.

[46] Ibn-al-Athir (Amari, *Biblioteca,* I, 365): "il quale (Balatah) spiccossi da Eufemio e rivoltossi contro di lui"; Nuwairi (*ibid.,* II, 114): "Costui (Balatah) si spiccò [poscia] da Eufemio e [apertamente] gli si ribellò. . . ." Amari's remark (*Storia,* I, 380) to the effect that Balata and his cousin declared for Michael II is nothing but an inference, as are Vasiliev's (*Byzance et les Arabes,* I, 69) and Bury's (*Eastern Roman Empire,* 297) statements that Balata espoused the cause of Michael.

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Act VI: From Mariana the Arabs marched upon Enna, but reinforcements were sent, and they did not take the city.[47]

The author was here trying to tell the story of the first Arab invasion of Sicily in 827–828. Not all the elements of his story can be identified,[48] but many of them can be explained without too much difficulty. In Act III the battle between the two rebels at Achradina, the famous suburb of Syracuse known to all readers of Thucydides, must be that between Euphemius and his disloyal governor Balata. In fact, the Slavonic text, in speaking of "two rebels," corrected the modern historians on a detail of some importance: the second of the Sicilian rebels, Balata, did not fight Euphemius because he adhered to the Emperor Michael as the modern historians hold, but because he, like Euphemius, repudiated Michael's authority and wished to gain control of Sicily for himself.[49] The Arab landing on the extremity of Sicily in Act V is that of June 17, 827, when the forces of the Aghlabid ruler of Kairouan disembarked at Mazara at the westernmost tip of the island. The rebel who helped the Arabs to capture the Sicilian city of Mariana can be none other than Euphemius.

Thus most, though not all, of the events narrated by the apocalyptic writer under Acts III–VI can be accounted for, and in this portion of his

[47] In the following translation from the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel I have added numerals to mark the six "acts" mentioned in the text above: "[I] And he (the Emperor) will send envoys [or, to the forces and] to the western lands which in a similar fashion [?] are faithful to themselves [?, to him ?]. And when they [the envoys] will have reached the western lands, the [inhabitants] of the so-called Rebel City (τύραννος πόλις), having rebelled, will sally forth and begin to insult him. [II] And afterward men who are in that place will arise, and they will kill them with the sword. [III] And they will arise against each other and will fight each other. And there will arise two rebels (τύραννοι), the first from the east of that city and the other from the west. And they will encounter each other in a place called Akrodunii [or, Krodunii] and will slay each other, so that the sea will be mixed with their blood. [IV] And a woman who is with child will come from the territory of that city where there stood in those days a sign [?]. And she will see her brother lying dead [or, after having become a mother] and will beat her breast, and she will give birth to her child and grief will overcome [or, her son will embrace] her for a long time. [V] And the Ismaelites will go forth into the extremity of the island and will take many prisoners until they will come to a place called Mariianii, and the rebel will install them in that place. [VI] And they will come to a place called Ienna, and they will come to her aid, and they will not capture her." Throughout this passage I have translated the verb *mąchiti* and the noun *mąchitel* by "to rebel" and "the rebel," respectively. These words, which often mean "to torture" and "torturer," are also used to render the Greek words *tyrannein* and *tyrannos,* which in Byzantine Greek normally mean "to rebel" and "the rebel." The term Rebel City (*tyrannos polis* or *polis tyrannou*) is also used in the Greek Visions of Daniel (Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeca-Byzantina,* 36, 15, 19; 39, 15, 19). Inasmuch as the Old Church Slavonic text later mentions an "island" as well as a number of Sicilian place names (Achradina, Enna), the Rebel City must be Syracuse.

[48] Thus I am at a loss to explain the remarks in Act IV on the pregnant woman from Syracuse, her brother, and her child. Naturally, one thinks of the nun whom Euphemius married, and the accounts about her mention that she and her brother had a child. Yet it is doubtful that the author is here alluding to her, for none of the other sources mention her brother's death. The identification with Euphemius' wife, moreover, does not explain the author's remark about the "sign" in the city of Syracuse.

[49] See note 46, above.

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"prophecy" the writer confirmed the data already known from the Arab, Greek, and Latin sources.[50] But what of Acts I and II? Here the apocalyptist wrote of the Emperor sending messengers to the western provinces, of their arrival at Syracuse, of the Emperor being insulted by the Syracusans, of the outbreak of a rebellion at Syracuse, and of the rebels being put to death. The question is unavoidable: why did he record all these Syracusan events before launching into the story of Euphemius and of the Arab invasion of Sicily? He wrote rather clumsily, but there can be no doubt that he was trying to give a continuous account of the Arab invasion of Sicily and to reproduce the causal connection between events. As pointed out above, modern scholars have been dissatisfied with the only reason adduced in the narrative sources for Euphemius' rebellion—his marriage to a nun—and both Amari and Vasiliev suspected a political motivation. The Old Church Slavonic Apocalypse, in its awkward way, seems to point to the events reported in Acts I and II as being the true cause of Euphemius' revolt. According to it, the Emperor Michael II sent emissaries to Syracuse, as well as to the other parts of his western dominions, he was insulted at Syracuse, and an unsuccessful local revolt followed. The Slavonic apocalypse did not specify, unfortunately, the content of the message sent by the Emperor to the people of Syracuse, but since it led to a revolution against the imperial authority, the Emperor must have made certain demands. Perhaps he asked for recruits for his armies, for military supplies, for new taxes, or for any combination of these items.[51] At any rate it is legitimate to infer from the Slavonic document that the principal cause of the abortive Syracusan revolt, of the later rebellion of Euphemius, and of the Arab invasion of the island were not the trite marital troubles of Euphemius but a demand by the Emperor addressed to the citizens of Syracuse that the latter deemed unacceptable.

This is a significant contribution made by the Slavonic text, but its interest does not end here. Two further features are noteworthy. In the first place messengers were dispatched not only to Syracuse but to all of the Emperor's western dominions. These included certainly the rest of Sicily

[50] Three new details were added to the story of the Arab invasion of 827–828. The Slavonic text localizes the battle between Euphemius and Balata at Achradina. The Arabs captured the Sicilian town of Mariana (location unknown, see note 23, above) with the help of Euphemius and besieged Enna unsuccessfully.

[51] One other possibility comes to mind. It is known from a letter of Theodore of Studios (Bk. I, No. 190, in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeco-Latina* [166 vols., Paris, 1857–66], 99, 1577 D–1581 A) that there was considerable iconoclastic agitation in Sicily, and this letter is probably to be dated in the reign of Michael II. It is, however, highly unlikely that Michael, who in the eastern provinces where iconoclasm was still strong followed a conciliatory policy toward the iconophiles (Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, 110–13), should have officially promoted iconoclastic policies in Sicily where iconoclasm had never flourished before. The iconoclastic agitation of which Theodore complains is likely to have been undertaken on the private initiative of Byzantine officials, rather than as a result of an official communication from the Emperor.

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and the Byzantine portions of southern Italy. Presumably the messengers transmitted demands similar to those sent to Syracuse. No such demands were, on the other hand, recorded for the core lands of the Empire, notably for Asia Minor. One suspects that the reason for this omission was that these core lands were undergoing a crisis of some sort and that the messengers had been sent to the western provinces to solicit aid for the eastern regions. Secondly, according to both Vasiliev and Bury, as stated above, Euphemius' revolt broke out in 826 and was followed in the next year by the Arab invasion. Amari, on the other hand, had conjectured that the Sicilian revolt began in 821, five years earlier, and his chronology now receives support from the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel. He had based his opinion on several arguments. In the first place, the earlier date seemed more plausible on grounds of general probability, for by 821 the upstart Emperor Michael II, who owed his throne to the murder of his predecessor, was faced with a dangerous revolt in Asia Minor, that of Thomas the Slav, but Thomas' revolt was suppressed by 823.[52] Furthermore, the Latin chronicle of the bishops of Naples by John the Deacon written in the first half of the ninth century mentioned the revolt of "the Syracusans belonging to the party of a certain Euthimius [Euphemius]" immediately following Michael's accession in 820, and the Byzantine chronicle of Symeon Magister of the tenth century stated in so many words that the Arab conquest of Sicily began "when Michael was busy with the rebel Thomas."[53] Now, according to the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel, the two rebels, that is, Euphemius and Balata, "arose" in Act III only. Their rebellion, however, was preceded in Acts I and II by an earlier revolt at Syracuse at the end of which the rebels were executed. According to this new Slavonic source, therefore, the Sicilian rebellion began before Euphemius assumed its leadership. John the Deacon and Symeon Magister were therefore correct in stating that the Sicilian revolt began soon after the accession of Michael II in 820, say in 821, and Amari's brilliant conjecture of two stages in the development of this revolt is thus confirmed by evidence unavailable to him.

Indeed, the demands made, according to the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel, by the government of Michael through the messengers upon the citizens of Syracuse and upon the inhabitants of the other western provinces, rather than upon his subjects in Asia Minor, are more plausible while

[52] On the revolt of Thomas the Slav, see Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, 84–110, 462–64; Franjo Barišić, "Deux versions sur Thomas chef de l'insurrection de 821–823," *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloshkog Instituta*, VI (1960), 145–69; Paul Lemerle, "Thomas le Slave," *Travaux et Mémoires*, I (1965), 254–97.

[53] John the Deacon, *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum* (Hanover, 1878), 429–30; Symeon Magister, 621–22, in Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed.

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Michael was still fighting for his throne against Thomas the Slav. Thomas had rallied around him the partisans of religious images who had been persecuted by Leo V and parts of the population of Asia Minor which was heavily burdened with taxes. Thus the movement headed by Thomas had both a religious and a social character. In addition Thomas had at the beginning of his revolt succeeded in obtaining control of the tax revenue of Asia Minor.[54] It is entirely credible that in this grave crisis the Emperor Michael, who had himself reached the throne by usurpation and by the murder of his predecessor, should have asked the western parts of his realm, among them the city of Syracuse, to make extraordinary contributions of a military or fiscal kind for the suppression of Thomas' revolt.

If one accepts, then, the chronology for the Sicilian revolt first suggested by Amari and now supported by the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel, one recognizes that there existed an essential connection between Thomas' revolt in Asia Minor and the Syracusan rebellion. In order to overcome the usurper Thomas who threatened the core lands of the Empire in Asia Minor and had seized most of their fiscal revenue, the upstart Emperor Michael II was forced to demand special contributions from the hitherto loyal provinces in the west. In a similar way, about a century earlier, the Byzantine Emperor Leo III, shortly after the Arab siege of his capital (717–718) and during the period of Muslim occupation of large parts of Asia Minor, had been driven to increase taxes and to insist on a more rigorous collection, with the ultimate result that Byzantium lost control of most of the Italian mainland.[55] Michael's action, about a hundred years later, led to the emergence of two sets of Sicilian rebels. The names of the earlier rebels are, unfortunately, unknown. The later leaders of the rebellion in its second stage were Euphemius and Balata.

Thus at the beginning of Michael's reign rebellion was ubiquitous. Michael had rebelled against his imperial master Leo V and had become emperor by murdering him. Thomas the Slav, whose friendship and association with the murdered Leo were long standing, had rallied behind him Asiatic circles loyal to the memory of Michael's victim. The first anonymous set of Sicilian rebels must have felt that the duel for power between Michael and Thomas in Asia Minor offered especially favorable circumstances for the

[54] Genesius, Bonn ed., 32; Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed., Bk. II, Chap. XI, 53.

[55] Pope Gregory II refused to pay the increased taxes on the properties of the Roman Church. His refusal in turn led later in the eighth century to the famous series of events culminating in the Frankish conquest of Italy and the foundation of the Papal State. (See the stimulating article by François Masai, "La politique des Isauriens et la naissance de l'Europe," *Byzantion,* XXXIII [No. 1, 1963], 191–221, esp. 191–99.) Both in the eighth and ninth centuries, then, the Byzantine government, in order to save the Asiatic core lands of the Empire, made exorbitant demands on the western provinces, with the result that it lost control of the Italian mainland in the eighth and of Sicily in the ninth century.

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secession of Sicily. Thus in the years 821–823, if my reconstruction of the events based on the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel is correct, at least two sets of rebels—Thomas the Slav and his associates on the one hand, the unnamed Sicilian rebels on the other—were competing with Michael II for power, and it was anything but a foregone conclusion who would ultimately be victorious. In the end Michael preserved his throne but at the price of losing Sicily to the Muslims whose aid had been invoked by one of the later Sicilian usurpers, Euphemius.

In attempting to summarize what has been learned about the historical value of medieval apocalypses it may be prudent to begin with the shortcomings peculiar to this type of source. In the first place, the dating of an apocalypse is not always an easy task because even specific factual details mentioned in an apocalypse may not be *vaticinia ex eventu* but genuine prophecies. Furthermore, numerals indicating time spans, which might otherwise offer clues for dating the document, are frequently altered by later editors. Secondly, it is often difficult to define the geographic region referred to in a particular apocalypse, not only because, as in all other medieval texts, outlandish place names have a tendency to be miscopied inadvertently but because a copyist of apocalypses is apt to change them deliberately, on the assumption that an earlier prophecy found its fulfillment in events occurring in his own neighborhood long after the original text was composed. A third possible pitfall in the historical interpretation of medieval apocalypses concerns the purpose for which a particular text is written. Detailed prophecies closely tied to this purpose, as, for example, of ultimate victories over the national enemy, may represent wishful thinking rather than historical fact. Finally, apocalypses are living texts and are subject to editorial tampering of all sorts in order to bring ancient prophecies in harmony with later events. To these four types of difficulties should be added the deliberate obscurity of apocalyptic documents, yet because the apocalyptist must strive to have his allusions understood by his contemporaries, it is rare indeed that the modern historian is unable to crack the apocalyptic code.

Once the obstacles to a historical interpretation and exploitation of apocalypses are removed, these texts may yield a rich crop of information of all kinds. Almost without exception they corroborate evidence already known from other, especially narrative, sources. Their authors express in concrete language the reactions of contemporaries to historical events, their usually primitive philosophies of history, their despair over the military situation or over the economic plight of the circles to which they belong or for which they write, and, above all, their expectations for a brighter future.

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Sometimes apocalypses contain valuable new factual details, such as the name Eudocopolis for the part of the imperial capital enclosed within the new city walls during the first half of the fifth century. The accumulation of apocalypses at particular periods, for example around the year 500, permits inferences as to the intensity of eschatological expectations and thus provides a barometer of eschatological pressures at different moments in history. Finally, some apocalypses such as the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel permit new inferences as to the causes and chronology of important developments in world history, in this case on the Muslim invasion of Sicily in the first half of the ninth century. Medieval apocalypses, then, are chronicles written in the future tense and deserve close attention on the part of historians of the Middle Ages.

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The Emergence of the Extreme Left in Lower Languedoc, 1848–1851: Social and Economic Factors in Politics

Leo A. Loubère*

IN 1815 lower Languedoc was the scene of the White Terror and was dominated by Legitimists; a century later it had made a full swing to the Left and was dominated by Radicals and Socialists. The dramatic beginning of this transformation came during mid-century when the Revolution of 1848 took the south by surprise. Among the political forces least prepared to take advantage of the situation created in Paris was the extreme Left; yet within a year men calling themselves by the revolutionary name of *démocrates-socialistes* won considerable support. Their activity initiated a new tradition that laid the basis for the broad transformation.

This essay is an attempt to explain the origins of that tradition. It is a case study using three methods: electoral sociology, quantitative analysis, and, particularly, human geography. By placing men within their milieu, it hopes to reveal the possibilities and limitations available to them through the economic, social, and cultural forces surrounding their public activities. It seeks to define leadership in terms of social structure and economic activity and then to discover the role of leadership in the formation of a political movement. Such an approach, requiring an intimate knowledge of society, cannot yet be applied to French national history; information is still lacking or vague. It is, therefore, best applied to local studies or, more appropriately, regional studies sufficiently broad to permit comparison among variant geographic areas and to make possible some generalizations about the factors that influenced democratic movements in France.

Lower Languedoc offers the historian a fruitful area of research. It is composed of the departments of Gard, Hérault, and Aude.[1] In 1848 they

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[1] For a description of lower Languedoc, see Raymond Dugrand, *Villes et campagnes en Bas-Languedoc* (Paris, 1963). Dugrand does not include all of Aude; I have included it, however, because it constitutes a political unit, and, given the prominence of the Aude Valley, an economic unit as well.

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were agricultural; that is, most of the people lived on the land, and the conditions, needs, and produce of the soil strongly influenced political attitudes and social position. Consequently, these attitudes varied rather closely with the topography. Since each department was formed around an important river, whence their names, they were both riparian and thalassic; river valleys and the seacoast conditioned life in them. So also did the geographic and economic zones which, following the coastline, cut across administrative-political boundaries.

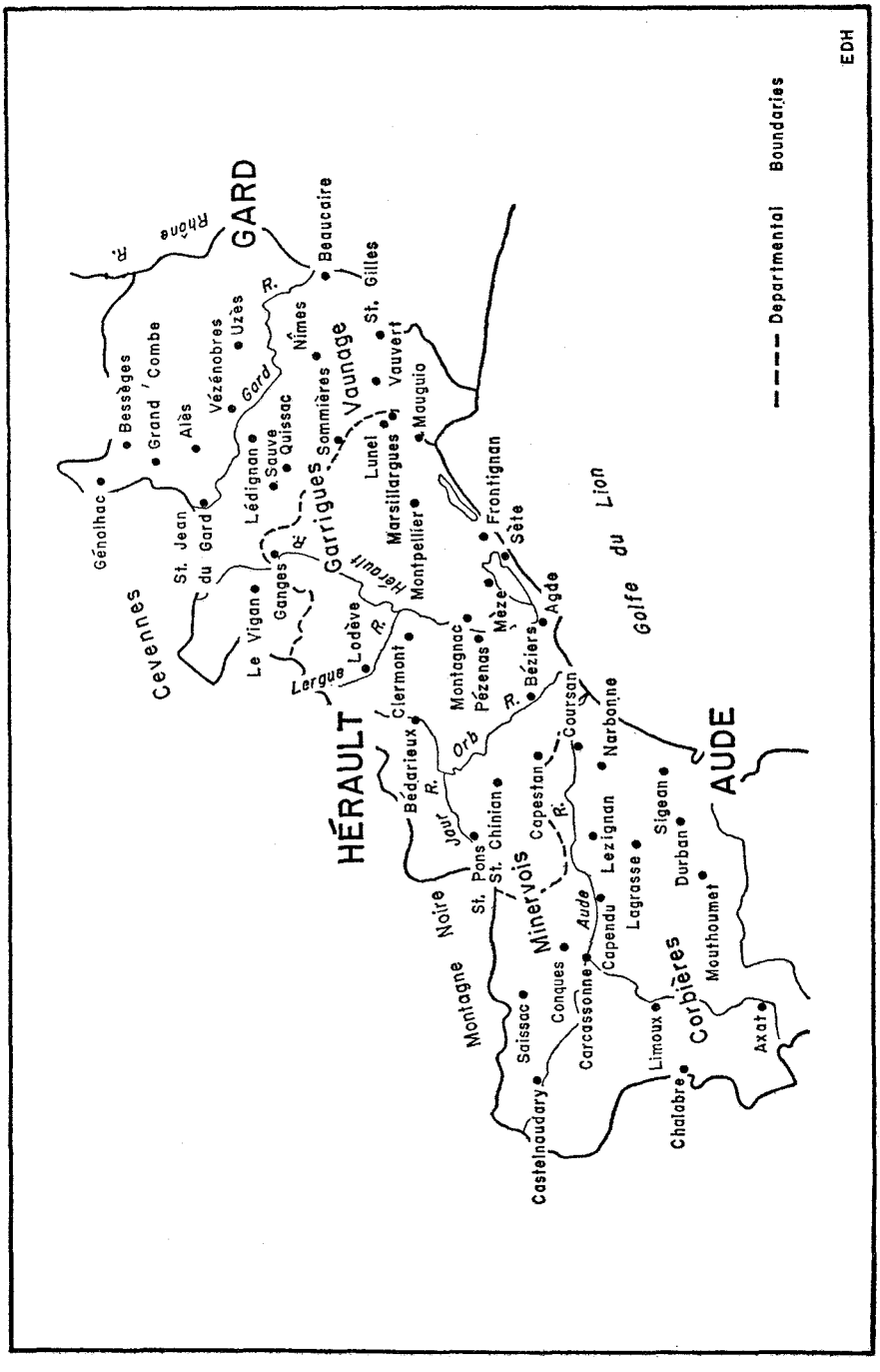
The coastal plain formed a belt between the sea and a line stretching from Sigean in Aude, just west of Narbonne, just north of Béziers, Montpellier, and Nîmes to Aramon. The lower portion of the plain, sparsely populated and of little use, was being changed into an area of large vineyards. This process involved considerable investment and introduced capitalist agricultural techniques. The transformation, later hastened by the wine crisis of the 1870's, was really just beginning in the 1830's and 1840's. Yet it had already produced a notable modification of the social structure: the proportion of vineyard day laborers began to grow, outnumbering owners in some communes by four to one and everywhere forming an important if not always numerically dominant segment of the adult male population.[2] Certain river valleys were also areas of labor concentration because of the appearance of capitalist vineyards. It is, of course, important not to exaggerate the size and force of this landless proletariat. Combined with it were many self-employing farmers.

Small and medium farms were more numerous in the zone of hills, which stretched to a line northwest of the Minervois, running along the Jaur Valley, through Lodève, Ganges, Bessèges, and northward. Smaller farms served as a counterforce to the large estates owned by nobles who often lived in nearby towns and cities. Here, cereals usually occupied as much acreage as vines, sometimes more. The vineyards, considerably older, represented a vast amount of labor carried on by generations of landowning peasant families who were as deeply rooted in the soil as the vines and whose whole outlook was dominated by daily and seasonal routines centuries old.[3] In the thin, rocky soil of this zone, especially in the eastern part of it called Garrigues, the production of raw silk was the chief cash crop. In Gard silk was

[2] See the manuscript copies of *recensement de 1851*, unclassified in Archives Départementales [hereafter cited as AD], Hérault; 10M 138 in AD, Gard; missing in Aude. Published census returns do not give statistics for communes, only for the entire department, as regards the professions of the population.

[3] Cereals were certainly important in the hills, as was pasturage in areas near textile centers. Wine, however, was a major cash crop, and even in cantons where vineyards occupied relatively limited acreage, it made the difference between well-being and scarcity. (See the reports in France, Assemblée Constituente, 1848–49, *Enquête sur le travail agricole et industriel . . . 1848*, Archives Nationales [hereafter cited as AN], C946, 953, 954.)

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more profitable than wine.[4] In Hérault, polyculture was also the rule, but silk gave way to raw wool in the high hills that stretched westward into the Minervois of Aude. Since land there was more divided, the peasantry often owned their land, tended to identify with large owners and to be conservative unless other factors, such as religion, influenced their views. Their contact with the outside world was limited by poor communication; much of their food production was, therefore, for self-consumption. Only in the larger river valleys and in areas near industrial centers was there a significant rural proletariat. Elsewhere hired labor consisted of peasants, without enough property to provide a livelihood, who hired themselves out as part-time workers on cereal-producing estates.

That part of the Cévennes lying in the northern extremity of Gard and Hérault and the Montagne Noire made up most of the mountain zone. The mountains, modest in height, divided upper and lower Languedoc and the Mediterranean region from the high plateau of central France. Here the peasants lived in high valleys cut by small rivers and streams, tenaciously terraced the steep slopes to grow cereals and chestnuts, cultivated silkworms in Gard, reared sheep in Hérault, and in off seasons found temporary employment as woodsmen in the spare forests, as stonecutters in quarries, or as miners in local coal and iron mines. Cut off from the outside, uneducated, and traditionalistic, they were passive and submissive in outlook.[5] In the Corbières, the mountain zone of Aude, life resembled that of the Cévennes, and yet peasant attitudes were somewhat different: more individualistic, open, even *frondeur*. The presence of many woodsmen, vineyardworkers, miners, and metalworkers using the *forges catalanes* made the difference, for they suffered severely from the economic crisis of 1847–1849. Their loss of purchasing power adversely affected industry.

Industry was, historically, a normal complement to agriculture since most of it was devoted to wool and silk textiles and distillation of wine into alcohol. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, textiles were already in a state of decline. Entrepreneurship and capital were turning to large-scale wine production, but as yet not extensively.

In the middle of the century various types of industrial centers were widely scattered.[6] Textiles were by far the chief employers of nonagricul-

[4] Benoni Chauzit, "Monographie agricole du département du Gard," *Bulletin du Ministère de l'Agriculture,* XVII (1898), 1529 ff.; Léonce Destremx de St. Christol, *Agriculture méridionale: Le Gard et l'Ardèche* (Paris, [1867]), 37 ff.; Gustave Coste, "L'état de l'agriculture dans le département du Gard vers 1835," *Mémoires de l'Académie de Nîmes,* 7th Ser., XXXXII (1924–25), xlv–li.

[5] H. Martin, "Coup d'état dans l'Hérault, 1851," *Diplôme d'Études Supérieurs,* University of Montpellier, n.d., 6–15; René Bertrand, "L'évolution économique et sociale d'une commune viticole de l'Hérault," law thesis, University of Montpellier, 1950, 8–16.

[6] Precise information about the location of industry is difficult to obtain. Some detailed

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tural labor and also were the most lucrative. Woolen and some cotton textiles existed near the larger waterways: Limoux and Chalabre, in Aude; Saint-Pons, Riols, Bédarieux, Lodève, Clermont, and Saint-Chinion in Hérault, and Sommières in Gard. Woolen textiles were located principally in the hills where water power was available. Since there were few steam engines, industry suffered during the summer when rivers became streamlets. Then many workers went to labor in the fields. The reverse occurred in winter when unoccupied farmers and field hands supplemented their incomes with domestic spinning and weaving. In Hérault large-scale textiles customarily produced woolen cloth for the army, hence its relative prosperity in 1848–1849.

The eastern sector of lower Languedoc was a leading center of silk textiles. Spinning and weaving were located in a zone stretching from Ganges and Le Vigan in the high hills, eastward to Alès (formerly Alais), then southward to Nîmes. Gard ranked third, after Paris and Lyons. There were more steam engines and a greater concentration of labor in the communes of Alès and Nîmes than elsewhere. In Nîmes there were 157 mills, each employing more than 20 workers; roughly two-thirds of this labor force was male.[7] Yet there, as nearly everywhere else, the domestic system prevailed. It was, of course, used in the many hamlets isolated in hills and mountains where peasants spent their winter months spinning and weaving for money, the only money they would see until harvest time in the vineyards when they would flock to the low hills and plains to work as grapepickers.

Other industries were, as yet, less important. Shipping was largely confined to alcohol and wine, which were carried in small boats using the small harbors of decadent ports. The influence of the sea was largely confined to weather conditions that produced the climate favorable to wine production. In the only port of any consequence, Sète (formerly Cette), there were some small boatyards, a foundry employing about four hundred workers, and numerous petty crafts, such as cooperage, dependent on the export of wine. Only in the mountain districts of Camplong, in Hérault, in the northern Alès *arrondissement,* and in Gard, where coal and iron mining were developing and where there was some metallurgy, were there sizable accumulations of nontextile labor. Lack of adequate transport hindered their rapid growth until the Second Empire. But already the Alès Basin was third largest in

statistics, not always reliable, can be found in the manuscript copies of *recensement de 1851* and in France, Bureau de la Statistique Générale, *Statistique de la France: Industrie* (4 vols., Paris, 1847–52), II.

[7] Hector Rivoire, *Statistique du département du Gard* (2 vols., Nîmes, 1842), II, 53; Henri Reboul, *L'industrie nimoise du tissage au* XIX^e^ *siècle* (Montpellier, 1914), 110 ff.; Pierre Gorlier, *Le Vigan* (Montpellier, [1955]), 310–21.

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France, utilizing over two thousand miners and several hundred ironworkers in numerous communes north of Alès. In the town of Alès itself, several hundred men were employed in metallurgy.[8]

The structure of society reflected this economy. A rural population constituted its base; this rural element consisted, however, of several categories. *Propriétaires-cultivateurs* owned land sufficient in acreage to provide them a livelihood (six or more hectares of vineyards and from twenty to thirty hectares of cereals or pasturage). They were to be found everywhere. Tenants and sharecroppers, more than half of whom owned some land, made up only a small percentage of the social category with patron rights. Land in the lower Midi was farmed either by owners and their families or by hired laborers. *Journaliers* or day laborers either outnumbered their employers or equaled them in numbers in the plains. In the lower hill cantons, and especially in fertile river valleys, they formed a sizable minority. Their numbers diminished sharply in the upper hills and mountains where large estates were confined to a few communes devoted to cereals and pasturage.

In Gard land was more divided, with the result that *journaliers* amounted to only one-half of the owners. The ideal of proprietorship was dominant and further reinforced by the large number of *journaliers-propriétaires,* roughly one-third of all the day laborers. They did not possess enough land for a livelihood and had to supplement their meager incomes by hiring themselves out as field hands, chiefly in the vineyards. Therefore, they were to be found predominantly in the plain and Rhône Valley. Some lived also in the highlands where they cultivated a small plot of mulberry trees in order to produce raw silk which their women spun into thread. In Hérault, with its larger acreage devoted to vineyards, land was less divided, therefore *journaliers* outnumbered *propriétaires* by several thousand. Yet, at least one-third of them were part owners and often shared an outlook similar to that of full owners. This would be particularly the case regarding fiscal policy, credit, irrigation, and transport.

The social structure of Aude is more difficult to define because of the lacunae in its archives. On the basis of information scattered in police reports and the press, it is evident that there was a fairly large rural proletariat in the plain, and a predominance of small- and medium-sized farms along the Aude Valley and in the Corbières. In the latter area an important element of the labor force consisted of woodsmen, a social group of only minor size in the Cévennes, covered chiefly with scrub and other bushes able to live

[8] Bureau de la Statistique Générale, *Statistique de la France: Industrie,* II, *passim; recensement de 1851,* AD, Gard, 10M 138. For Hérault, the labor statistics of the census (1851) are almost without value: employers and workers are lumped together, and the totals are unreliable.

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in pockets of thin soil. The Corbières and to a lesser extent the Cévennes included many small farmers who had traditionally used publicly owned pasturage and forests. The July Monarchy had encouraged either the sale or rental of this property to individuals, thereby excluding the marginal peasants from what they considered their historic rights. This situation aroused the anger of the peasants and sometimes drove them to riot before and shortly after the February Revolution.[9]

The owners of estates and the employers of most rural workers were either nobles or well-to-do bourgeois, who were either Legitimists or Orleanists. Active industrialists and merchants also inclined toward parliamentary monarchy and Protestantism. Some well-to-do bourgeois, however, were militant democrats who became leaders of the extreme Left. Generally they were landlords or wholesale wine dealers, and economically independent.

Far more important for this study are the intermediate urban classes: middling and petty bourgeois. It is essential to remember that before modern communication appeared life was centered in the cantonal capitals or larger communes, for the big city was impossibly far away (between Toulouse and Marseille there were no big cities). Even a small locality's social structure, therefore, was complex with its complement of small merchants, medical doctor, pharmacist, notary, justice of the peace, artisans, and, above all, *café* owners, who were numerous in the hills and plains. Many of the daily activities and political interests involving local affairs were centered in the *café*. In nearly every cantonal center there were several, one for each political nuance. They were often the headquarters of political clubs, and, in several instances, the owner was the organizer and head. Each *café* subscribed to newspapers desired by its clientele. Only in larger towns did *cafés* offer a variety of journals.[10] The *café* was, above all, a link between town and country. On market days peasants gathered there and listened to Republican propaganda spread by a freethinking doctor or pharmacist, an ideological lawyer or notary who might or might not have political ambitions. Their activities made the *café* the hostile counterpart of the parish church where the curé spread Legitimist ideals.

The public house was the gathering place of another social group whose role in the growth of the extreme Left was paramount: the artisans. Their role emerged later, during the trials before mixed commissions after the

[9] See Albert Soboul, "La question paysanne en 1848," *La pensée, revue du rationalisme moderne* (Nos. 18–20, 1948), 55–66, 25–37, 48–56, and "Des troubles agraires de 1848," *1848 et les révolutions du* XIX^e *siècle,* XXXIX (Spring 1949), 1–20, 39–61.

[10] AD, Hérault, 39M 128. Numerous police reports complain that workers spent too much time and money in public houses. For the continuing importance of *cafés,* see Michel Augé-Laribé, *Le problème agraire du socialisme* (Paris, 1907), 266–67.

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coup d'état of 1851. Small-town shoemakers, carpenters, masons, plasterers, stonecutters, tailors, locksmiths, coopers, and tanners usually made up the cadres of extreme democratic societies and were active propagandists among peasants. Generally the directing heads were of the middle class. Yet it was chiefly the artisans, allied with the local grocer, butcher, distiller, and other petty bourgeois, who began the political education of the peasants. Many had traveled to learn their craft, and they were literate and open to new ideas. They were far more active than most of the industrial workers who were natives, often illiterate, and, in many cases, followed conservative leadership. Evidently not all artisans, not even a large majority of them in every town, turned to extreme or even to moderate republicanism. Those who lived in towns of one thousand to three thousand in population went to work in the fields part of the year and were frequently under the tutelage of conservative rural authorities upon whom they were partly or wholly dependent.[11] This dependency, which brought with it the reception of charity, probably increased during periods of depression.

In 1847–1849 the economy of lower Languedoc was in serious trouble, as was that of nearly all of France. Naturally public opinion, at least as well as can be discerned, reacted sharply to harsh times.[12] Without fail, local notables and workers complained of the depression. The petty industry, widely dispersed over the area, especially in the zone of hills, was depressed by the collapse of local markets—its main outlet. The decline of wages, balanced by a serious decline of prices, was not a great calamity for the workers; they suffered rather from mass layoffs. Without wages they could not purchase the wares and services of other equally distressed artisans. Worse, they did not even have field labor to fall back on. Agriculture was crushed by bad weather and a shocking fall of prices; cereals could not be sold at a profit and were hurt by foreign competition.[13] Small wonder that the hill and mountain cerealgrowers clamored for tariff protection and condemned the extreme Left, as well as economic liberals who favored free trade. On the other hand, wine interests in the lower hills and plain clamored for free trade as the price of wine in 1849 fell to its lowest level in twenty years. Most Languedocian wine was distilled into alcohol

[11] See Émile Appolis, "Lodève, étude de géographie urbaine," *Cahiers d'histoire et d'archéologie* (Nîmes, 1936), 22–24; Fulcran Teisserenc, *Industrie lainière dans l'Hérault* (Paris, 1908), 31 ff.

[12] The *enquête* of 1848 is not too helpful as a document for narrowly defined economic history. In this essay concerned with the relation between social structure and politics, the *enquête* is most valuable; indeed, it is comparable to the *cahiers des doléances* of 1789. The impact of the crisis on people's thinking can be measured in a general way by studying certain parts of the questionnaires filled out by local notables, and sometimes by workers.

[13] In Aude, wheat prices between 1849 and 1850 suffered their lowest decline since 1825–1829. (See Georges Barbut, *Historique de la culture des céréales dans l'Aude de 1785 à 1900* [Carcassonne, 1900], 36–37.)

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and exported to other parts of France and especially to foreign countries. The free access to foreign markets, therefore, seemed essential.[14] Inferior wine not distilled was sold to the lower classes in the region. Local and foreign sales of quality wine and alcohol were difficult, however, because all alcoholic beverages were heavily taxed, both nationally and locally. Hence the fiscal issue was important in local politics. Silk, which rivaled wine in Gard, also suffered from the late freeze of 1848 that dried up mulberry leaves.[15] Finally, numerous small merchants were adversely affected since they sold to the local population. Opinion, extremely pessimistic in 1848, continued so into 1849.

Not pessimism but jubilation filled Languedocian Republicans when they learned of the successful February Revolution. Prior to the elections of April 1848 most men of the Left referred to themselves simply as "republicans," and men of moderate views dominated local political activity and the press. The sobriquet "radical" had appeared earlier, but was never used widely after February.[16]

The crises of May 15 and the June Days separated the proponents of General Eugène Cavaignac from those who came out vigorously in favor of Alexandre Ledru-Rollin and who now called themselves *Montagnards*. In Montpellier an ardent journalist, Louis Auriol, founded *Le Montagnard du Midi* and set up *Montagnard* societies. In Carcassonne the Jacobin *Fraternité,* edited by Théophile Marcou, replaced the moderate *Républicain de l'Aude* during September. Its program was typical of the Mountain: free, public, secular education, economic cooperation which it called "soli-

[14] The report from Béziers in the *enquête* explained, "Les douanes sont au commerce ce que l'esclavage est à la civilisation." Until the improvement of transport, the Midi could more easily and cheaply export its alcohol to other parts of the world than to the north of France.

[15] Destremx de St. Christol, *Agriculture méridionale,* 53.

[16] On December 5, 1847, during a reform banquet in Montpellier, the main speaker, Louis Garnier-Pagès, introduced the "radical" program which called for "guerre à l'exploitation des masses par quelques privilégiés." (See *Banquet réformiste à Montpellier* [Montpellier, 1847], 19–27.) At this time the word "radical" was used because the word "républicain" had been outlawed by the July Monarchy. Borrowed from the English, it was employed by French Republicans to emphasize their determined opposition to the government. When the government was overthrown, the word lost its reason for being and practically disappeared. (See Gil C. Alroy, "Les Radicaux après la Révolution de 1848," *Le Contrat social,* X [No. 5, 1966], 290–94.) On the origins of the word, see Jacques Kayser, *Les grandes batailles du radicalisme, 1820–1901* (Paris, 1962), 7–14. In the present essay "Radical" means the extreme Left which in 1848 was commonly called "Montagnard," and in 1849 "démocrate-socialiste," or, at any time, "républicain démocrate." In lower Languedoc there was no clear line of demarcation between an advanced democrat and a socialist. The extreme Left studied here, however, tended to be more Jacobin than socialist, Rousseauist than Babeuvian, and it became the basis of the southern Radical movement of the Third Republic. Unfortunately a history of Languedoc for the period since 1789 does not exist. There is some useful information in Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire du Languedoc* (Paris, 1962), Chap. VI. There are no histories for any of the departments under study. For politics from 1830 to 1847, see AN, BB[18] 1315, 1319, 1443[a], and AD, Hérault, 39M 107–12, 114, 116, 117; AD, Aude, 5M 27, 28; AD, Gard, 6M 390, 405.

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darisme," the right to work, a progressive income tax, property for everyone, and the abolition of usury. It warned that if Louis Napoleon won and then threatened the republic, "Insurrection would become the most sacred of duties."[17]

Jacobins now emerged as a distinct Republican force. With them came a new style of campaign for the December presidential elections: it was fervent, even physically violent when street fighting became necessary, and centered in banquets where Maximilien Robespierre and Louis Saint-Just were toasted amidst shouts of "vive la guillotine."[18] All this occurred in fields or halls decorated with red and tricolor flags and banners, Phrygian caps, and busts of Marianne. When the guests had exhausted their stock of food, wine, and words, they formed a long cortege and marched through the streets with flags waving and drums beating.[19] At times the police intervened; on several occasions mounted police charged with sabers drawn. Then the demonstrators let go a salvo of stones before taking to their heels. This oppositional impulse was uncompromising toward Cavaignac, "the butcher." In consequence, the moderate press distrusted and decided to ignore it.[20] The dynamic character of the extreme Left must, however, be underlined. Most of the active militants were relatively young, in their twenties and thirties, and although a majority of them had families, they sacrificed their jobs for the cause. Often their wives and even their children participated in the more festive programs such as planting liberty trees and crowning them with Phrygian caps, or serenading a local hero, or dancing the farandole in long serpentine columns, or just plain mischief which police reports refer to as "tapage nocturne."[21] This, the "human element," would play a decisive role in subsequent events.

For the moment, however, these activities and sacrifices were in vain; the Mountain suffered a severe defeat. Lower Languedoc, like the rest of France, preferred Louis Napoleon and, after him, Cavaignac. Republicanism was still predominantly moderate. Ledru-Rollin enjoyed his greatest success in Gard and Hérault, where he won 15–16 per cent of the votes—roughly 10 per cent above his national average. Aude, which had elected four Jacobins in April, gave him a mere 10 per cent. And yet Narbonne was unique in preferring him over Cavaignac and in giving him a total equal

[17] *Fraternité*, Nov. 4, 1848.
[18] AN, BB[18] 1469, dr. 6579[a].
[19] AD, Gard, 6M 613, police reports, Oct.–Dec. 1848; *Républicain du Gard*, Oct.–Dec. 1848.
[20] AN, BB[18] 1474[b], reports of the *procureur général*, Oct.–Nov. 1848. The *Républicain du Gard* would have preferred to support Alphonse Lamartine or even Ledru-Rollin, but concluded that only Cavaignac could successfully compete with Louis Napoleon. Republican defense, therefore, demanded support of him. (See *Républicain du Gard*, Nov. 26, 29, 1848.)
[21] See AD, Aude, 5M 32; AD, Hérault, 39M 132.

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to that of Louis Napoleon. It was clear by now that the roots of the Mountain had found fertile soil chiefly in urban areas. In Hérault, 70 per cent of its vote came from the twelve largest towns.[22] Here was a situation to exploit in 1849.

Between April 1848 and May 1849, as the prices of wheat and wine dropped further, the Republican press revealed a growing concern about fiscal and social reform. Especially after the June Days it became more critical of the social conservatism of the government. A major complaint was the drink tax, along with concern about unemployment among vineyardworkers. In early 1848, people in the Midi grew increasingly hostile to a fiscal system that, in their volatile opinion, drained the south to benefit the north. Violence occurred in some areas in the form of antifiscal riots. Local tax collectors were threatened with lynching, and their offices set on fire to destroy records.[23] Chiefly after the election of Louis Napoleon the Republican press found it convenient to attack the government's tax system, and there was a marked swing toward radicalism among all these journals which, incidentally, were published in distressed wine centers. In their columns the wine issue became inextricably bound up with the social question because the low-grade alcohol and wine of the Midi were consumed by the lower classes. Unfair levies deprived the poor of their *boisson hygiénique*. The nectar of Bacchus had already become a source of poetic inspiration to the extreme Left: "La vigne est l'emblême cardinal d'amitié. C'est le plus pur produit des amours de la terre et du soleil. Le vin est le lait des vieillards, le consolateur des affligés, le soutien des faibles, le viatique des forts."[24]

Conservatives, of course, also represented wine interests and called for the abolition of the taxes still levied on alcohol: *droits réunis, droits d'entrée,* and especially the *octrois*. If only to compete, Republicans took a more advanced position on taxes, and, therefore, moderate republicanism was destroyed in the Midi during 1849–1850, not only by the rise of political reaction, which provoked extremism, but also by the violent struggle over the tax issue. As the Republican press became Radical, it supported a progressive income tax, the nightmare of conservatives. In addition, it called upon the men in power to recover the *milliard des émigrés* and to use this sum to reimburse all peasants who had paid the forty-five-centime

[22] André J. Tudesq, "L'éléction du président de la République en 1848 dans l'Hérault," *Annales du Midi,* LXVII (Oct. 1955), 331–42.

[23] AD, Hérault, 39M 127, police reports of Mar. 1848; on the issue of taxation, see Robert Schnerb, "Les hommes de 1848 et l'impôt," *1848 et les révolutions du* XIX^e^ *siècle,* XXXVIII (No. 176, 1948), 5–51.

[24] *Républicain du Gard,* Mar. 9, 1849.

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tax. All *Montagnard* journals then initiated a petition to effect this return, a common tactic in the three departments that reveals the level of unified action and planning achieved since 1848.[25]

The extreme Left also recognized the need for the state to be more active in social and economic life. Since the economic crisis continued into 1849, they called for legislation on hours and insisted that the right to work be officially recognized. Since this right would necessitate additional expenditure in the form of public works, they demanded that the state nationalize certain monopolies such as railroads, insurance, and finance. Above all, they demanded cheap credit for peasants' and workers' cooperatives. The *Fraternité* was the most *socialisant* and revealed the influence of Armand Barbès and Louis Blanc. It was, however, really Jacobin and hoped to encourage land partitioning (*morcellement*) as a solution to the peasants' problem: land purchase, presumably from the Church, would be fostered by cheap long-term credit. It even advocated the emission of paper money based on land, which was reminiscent of assignats. Part of its general program was also the abolition of usury, as has already been shown. None of these latter-day Jacobins, however, called for the abolition of debts, as had some of Louis Napoleon's electoral agents in 1848. Had they done so, the debt-burdened peasants might have reacted differently since Louis Napoleon had not carried out his supposed promises. The journals wanted, ideally, greater emphasis on equality and fraternity. Their inspiration, they claimed, was the social gospel of Christianity and the ideal of the family as a social unit whose members are bound together by love.[26] Finally the Radical Left called for a broad extension of public education. In the questionnaires of the *enquête,* local notables had shown some concern for education, but surprisingly little for professional training, and, indeed, it was seriously lacking in the Midi, as it was in France. Radicals were emphatic on the need for free, secular schooling which would include greater emphasis on professional training, especially in agriculture.

This was the extreme Left's program for the 1849 elections, and to emphasize its extremism it entered the contest referring to itself as "démocrate-socialiste."

The elections of May 1849 marked a serious defeat for the Democratic-

[25] *Fraternité,* Sept. 30, 1848; Feb. 17, Mar. 10, 1849; *Républicain du Gard,* Feb. 15, 28, Mar. 10, 1849; *Indépendant,* Apr. 6, 1849.

[26] *Fraternité,* Sept. 9, Oct. 18, 28, 1848; *Indépendant,* Apr. 2, 6, 1849; *Républicain du Gard,* Mar. 15, 1849. The last-named was far less committed to nationalization; it still favored, however, social reform in a vague way. Many peasants were more attracted by cheap credit than ideology; they had bought land on credit before the fall of agricultural prices in 1848–1849 and now found the interest burden intolerable. More peasants turned to the Left as the years passed and conditions worsened. (AN, BB[30] 382 dr. 9567[a], reports of *procureur général* at Montpellier, July–Aug. 1851.)

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Socialists whose immediate future became somber indeed. They made it possible, however, for the Left to win an identity, distinct from that of mere republicanism, to discover its ideology and its leaders, to prepare for its tragic but heroic period in 1851, and to win its eventual victory with the establishment of the Third Republic when the defeated leaders of 1848–1851 reappeared and won power. In the short run, of course, division in Republican ranks contributed to electoral losses. In Aude, the Radical slate, supported by the *Fraternité,* suffered a slight decline after April 1848. The average vote in 1848 for the Radicals Barbès, Théodore Raynal, Edmond Joly, and Marcou was about 31,000. The average vote for the entire 1849 list was 29,838; for the victorious conservatives, 36,000. Considering only averages, the loss was not disastrous, and an important advance in identification was achieved; electors in 1849 voted for the list rather than individual candidates as they had done a year before when the range of the Republican-Radical slate had extended from 53,308 to 11,029; moderate Republicans had enjoyed the highest totals. The defeat, moreover, was not irretrievable; on the basis of its program the Mountain won 43 per cent of the ballots cast and 33 per cent of the registered voters. Moderate republicanism was crushed; there was no moderate slate. The voters had chosen between red and black.

In Hérault, Republicans were given a choice between moderates and Democratic-Socialists whose list was headed by Ledru-Rollin and Jacques Brives. They turned to the extreme Left en masse. In December 1848 Ledru-Rollin had received only 11,580 votes; he now won 31,202. The Radical slate averaged 27,600 votes as compared to 31,700 for Republicans of various colors in 1848. The combined averages for the Radicals and moderates in 1849 revealed that republicanism was able to hold its own since the previous year. More significant was the Leftward shift of Republican sentiment, despite massive pressure by the administration in favor of conservatives. Radicals had campaigned militantly, and both Brives and Ledru-Rollin won seats, despite the fact that their slate received only 30 per cent of the ballots, and 27 per cent of the registered voters. Since they were included on the moderate slate, they pulled ahead of fellow Jacobins to win. Moderates were crushed, and most seats went to conservatives.

In Gard, the extreme Left was weakened by internal feuds between Jules Cazot and the doctrinaire extremists of the Club Martin *cadet* headed by Pierre Encontre. While they all distinguished themselves from moderates, they nonetheless included on their list two of the best-known ones: Alphonse Bousquet and Jacques Favand. Ledru-Rollin was the only Radical with more than a local reputation; hence he was included on the moderate

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list as well. His prestige, which weighed heavily in Hérault, was far less valuable in Gard. The Radical slate, excluding Bousquet and Favand, averaged only 16,323 votes; including them, it averaged 19,000. No Republican candidate was elected, and even had all Republicans united, their combined total was roughly 5,000 votes short of that of the conservatives. The eastern part of lower Languedoc had almost returned to its Royalist tradition.

The emergence of the extreme Left, then, was most dramatic in Aude and Hérault, far less so in Gard. Here was a curious situation because in 1851 and after 1870 this pattern reversed itself. Hérault remained pivotal, but initiative passed from Aude to Gard. An explanation of this phenomenon is essential to our understanding of a century-long process by which lower Languedoc (and the Mediterranean coast) passed from royalism to Radical-Socialism.

Several factors must be considered: First, there was the environmental factor, combining geography, economy, and social structure. Then, against this background the human factor comes into play with the will of men to achieve political success. At times it overcame a hostile environment, as in Saissac Canton (Aude); at times it failed to exploit a friendly one, as in Vauvert Canton (Gard). The human factor is a disturbing one in our analysis, not only because it is often unpredictable but because it was influenced by the cultural factor combining religion and tradition. Since human actions were not always merely unconscious or automatic responses to physical environment, generalization is both difficult and hazardous. It is necessary, nonetheless, if we are to understand the process of change.[27]

Let us begin our analysis by scrutinizing several feasible generalizations. First, people of the high hills and mountains, where traditions were hostile to change, were usually averse to the extreme Left. The term "people" here means primarily peasants, and their highland cantons were the most economically backward. Albert Soboul, who studied peasant behavior in depressed areas and their resistance either to technical innovation or to the transfer of public lands to private ownership, concluded that class feeling motivated their actions: these poor peasants, to protect their economic and class interests, resorted to politics.[28] Presumably, they voted against the rich, which would leave them no alternative save the extreme Left. One of the

[27] Electoral statistics for 1848–1849 are deplorably scanty in local archives and nonexistent in the Archives Nationales. I found totals for communes only in AD, Hérault, 15M 9; cantonal totals are available in the local press.

[28] Soboul, "Question paysanne." Soboul states that peasants voted for Louis Napoleon in December 1848 because moderates did not bring forth an economic program favorable to peasant aspirations. In 1849, disenchanted with Louis Napoleon, they voted for Democratic-Socialists. This thesis, I feel, is too general and schematic; peasant reactions were far more complex.

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chief areas of peasant unrest in lower Languedoc during 1847–1848 was the high hills and mountains. But active unrest was limited to several communes and was by no means a general phenomenon. In the Cévennes, where peasants had resorted to resistance in 1847–1848, as in the cantons of Saint-Pons and La Salvetat in Hérault, they supported the conservative slate in 1848–1849. They did not differ from the more passive peasants who had not resorted to violence earlier and who also supported either Carlists or, more rarely, moderate Republicans. The former won in Hérault and in most of Gard; the latter won in certain cantons where cultural factors, such as religion, acted upon the norm. Clearly the mountain people, although poorer now than during the previous year, acted in a fashion conformable to the theory that mountain people are more conservative than those of the lowland. As yet the communication between these two areas was quite limited. Lack of roads or roads nearly impassable, illiteracy, and rough terrain were conditions that prevailed. The vineyards of the low hills and plains were not yet extensive enough to influence life by introducing mobility.[29] Highland peasants often spent a few weeks harvesting in the vineyards, but returned home unaffected, speaking only their own dialect. They could, but only rarely, resort to violence against specific grievances; they had not yet, however, reached a stage of awareness that allowed them to translate specific grievances into political action.[30] They sought to preserve rather than to change; they opposed capitalist innovation and accepted traditional social hierarchy and religion. Efforts at recruitment, carried on sporadically by Radicals from Bédarieux and Lodève, hardly touched these isolated people.

The above generalizations are not universally applicable; there were variables. In some cantons religion became a major determinant by 1849. In Gard and Hérault highland cantons with a large Protestant population voted generally for moderate Republicans; only two of them, Saint-Jean-du-Gard and Anduze, gave a substantial minority to the Democratic-Socialists, some of whom were native sons. Fear of Catholic-Carlist domination, not in any sense class or economic interests, determined this vote. Protestant cantons from the plain to the mountains voted massively Republican in 1849. It is interesting to note that Protestants in the mountains were stable, sober, and rather moderate in their general comportment and out-

[29] In the *enquête* there was very little mention of migration from highlands toward lowlands. Apparently military service was an important displacer of young men. As yet, the population was growing everywhere, so that lowland vineyards obtained much of their labor force from nearby communities. Full-time work in vineyards required certain skills and finesse that the crude mountain people did not possess.

[30] Their action still resembled that of eighteenth-century peasants. On the latter, see George Rudé, *The Crowd in History* (New York, 1964), Chap. 1.

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look. There are no reports condemning them for poaching, forest devastation, and rioting. The majority were landowners and ignored Democratic-Socialism in 1848–1849.

A situation more in accord with Soboul's thesis occurred in the Corbières and the Montagne Noire in Aude. Some peasants from this area had resisted the alienation of public forests, as in Axat and Quillan Cantons, and large numbers of the lower class voted for the Barbès list, but no greater number than in Mouthoumet, Lagrasse, or Saissac Cantons where there were no reports of violent resistance. In all of these cantons, except Quillan, the Democratic-Socialists won a majority, and usually a sizable majority running over 50 per cent of the ballots. Undoubtedly the peasants there, because they depended heavily upon public forests for wood and grazing land, were hostile to a regime that kept open the door to private ownership of these resources. Also those same woodsmen and miners wanted state help in the form of roads and canals. They were united with the wine producers in the demand for an active public works policy financed by the rich, and radicalism seemed to offer them a means to achieve this goal. Since the lower classes here were as illiterate as those in the Cévennes, the extreme Left must have carried on extensive missionary work. Recruiters must have come from the Aude Valley lying to the west and north because local militants were extremely rare.[31] Here human will overcame geographic obstacles by exploiting a depressed economic situation.

In the hill region Jacobin victories were confined to important river valleys, usually where there was some sort of petty industrial activity, important wine production, or both. Where the extreme Left did not win a majority, it often obtained over 40 per cent of the ballots. The Aude Valley, which combined both petty and medium property and a large number of independent wine and cereal producers, was and remained its chief stronghold. Here nature provided an artery of communication, and militants carried their program of cheap credit and public works to grapegrowers who complained of insufficient capital and inadequate roads. As wine production diminished west of Carcassonne, so did Left-wing influence. The canton of Castelnaudary-Sud was its western outpost in an area dominated by cereal production, with large and medium landowners.[32] The valley of Hérault was less clearly dominated; Democratic-Socialists won victories chiefly in cantons where textiles were concentrated and performed poorly elsewhere. The same was true of the Orb Valley in Hérault and

[31] A few Jacobins were arrested after the *coup d'état* of 1851, but only in one town, appropriately named Villerouge, was there a concentration of them: ten, more than in Narbonne, were seized. (See AD, Aude, 5M 37–42.)

[32] AN, BB^{30} 362, fols. 148, 177.

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of the Gard Valley in Gard. In the Rhône Valley its strength was confined to the cantons of Aramon and Beaucaire where there was a considerable landless agricultural proletariat, as well as some active organizers such as A. Tavernel in Aramon and J. Dufestel in Beaucaire. Despite these exceptions river valleys became important centers of the extreme Left.

Where rivers met the sea the extreme Left was able to win a strong position; if there was a large town at this juncture, it usually won a dominant position in political affairs. Here was to be found the combination of a petty middle class furnishing leadership, the urban artisan class providing a cadre of organizers, and a vineyard proletariat making up an activist following. Here life was highly urbanized, open to new ideas; tradition was more seriously challenged by a generally more volatile, mobile population. These areas played a major role in the political transformation of the Midi. Pivotal points were the mouths of the Aude, Orb, Hérault, and Vidourle Rivers. Three of these junctures lay in Hérault, where towns were more numerous and where landless workers outnumbered landowners.

In several communes of the plain, lower-class discontent had led to acts of insubordination before and after February 1848. In two instances this discontent clearly led to extremism in politics: in Mèze and in Lunel Cantons. Here, and in the cantons of Béziers, Frontignan, and Mauguio, the Democratic-Socialists established bastions that became impregnable. They also had an extensive following in Florensac and Sète. It is interesting to note that in Florensac and Frontignan landowners outnumbered workers, which produced no appreciable difference in voting patterns. On the other hand, in the cantons of Agde and Montpellier, where workers outnumbered owners in some communes, response to the Radical program was disappointing; conservatives won there. The victories resulted undoubtedly from activities by conservative leaders because the economy and social structure were essentially the same as in cantons favorable to the Left.[33] Here the traditionalistic city dominated the eastern suburbs.

Conservative traditions were also deeper in the plain of Aude. Except for the lowland around the town of Narbonne, and Coursan, where the large working class became a permanent bulwark of the extreme Left, wealthy wine producers were fairly successful in their determined efforts to control their workers. In the canton of Sigean, and even in those of Narbonne and Coursan, Democratic-Socialists formally accused employers of giving specially shaped ballots to workers and of standing near the ballot

[33] Agde was a decadent port living from wine trade and fishing. Monarchism was a strong tradition there, and the first Radical-Socialist victory in municipal elections came only in 1898. (See Joseph Picheire, *Histoire d'Agde* [Lyons, (1960)], 81–91.) On the other hand, the extreme Left won in the neighboring communes of Marseillan and Besson.

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boxes to identify those who refused to use them.[34] The extreme Left lost the election because it could not obtain all of the sizable labor vote of the plain. In the plain of Gard, the *vignerons* of all classes favored the moderate list; that of Jules Cazot did not do well; neither did Ledru-Rollin who was on both lists. That there was a sizable class of small landowners here was undoubtedly a factor in this preference; however, the population of Vaunage, regardless of class affiliation, was quite excitable and violently hostile to a central government that increasingly identified itself with Catholic interests. Rather than to Montpellier, these people looked to Nîmes which was their hope as a center of Republican organization and their despair as the center of Catholic power.

The strength of the Mountain ultimately depended upon its success in winning a significant urban following and then in using its urban forces to sway the countryside. In Aude, Radicals gained a high percentage of the ballots because they won all the important towns, of which there were only four, the prefecture of Carcassonne and the subprefectures of Limoux, Castelnaudary, and Narbonne. They were also popular in many small textile towns, often isolated in high hills or mountains, such as Chalabre, whose mayor was an ardent *Montagnard*.[35] In Hérault, the Mountain placed two of its candidates among the winners because it won three *arrondissement* capitals: Lodève and its weavers with a sizable majority; Béziers with a respectable majority; and Montpellier with a minute majority and that thanks to the third or western canton, which was partly rural and Protestant. Saint-Pons, isolated and economically poor, favored either moderate Republicans or conservatives. Unlike Carcassonne, which was predominantly Jacobin and not very rich, Montpellier was a seat of wealthy nobles and bourgeois who enjoyed considerable influence over the lower classes of shopkeepers, artisans, and unskilled workers (of whom there were few). The truly urban element of the population was chiefly Catholic and conservative.[36] Radicals won their following in the western suburbs more so than in the center of the city. More decidedly Left-wing were the textile centers—Bédarieux, Lodève, Clermont, and Saint-Chinian—as well as the coastal wine centers—Sète, Mèze, and Frontignan. In nearly every instance, these towns carried the cantonal vote into the Radical camp. The silk textile center, Ganges, followed the pattern of the urban vote in Gard because of serious religious divisions.[37] In Gard, the only administrative center that

[34] AN, F^{IC} III Aude[4]; see also *Fraternité*, May 14–16, 1849.

[35] See AD, Aude, 5M 32, fols. 100–80.

[36] Louis Thomas, "Montpellier en 1851, le coup d'état du 2 décembre 1851," *Monspeliensia*, I (No. 3, 1933), 11–12.

[37] For Ganges, see AD, Hérault, 39M 142. It is noteworthy that textile laborers in Lodève,

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was markedly Left-wing was Alès. Le Vigan was moderate Republican, Uzès was torn between moderates and Carlists, and Nîmes, the biggest textile center of the south, was predominantly Carlist. In the first canton of Nîmes, strongly Protestant, Ledru-Rollin won about two hundred, and Almir Cavalier, a moderate Jacobin, about one hundred more votes than the moderates Bousquet and Jacques Favand. However, the Republican-Radical list could not even carry this constituency. Quite clearly the Catholic majority who had voted Republican in 1848 became Monarchists again in 1849. The only other town of importance that supported the Radical list was Beaucaire, a declining port and market on the Rhône River. Here the commercial working class, the stevedores and wagoners, were Left-wing and led by militant Jacobins.

Most of the supporters of the Democratic-Socialists came from the lower classes—hardly an original statement, but one needing clarification. The term "lower classes" covered different categories of the population. The extreme Left could not have won its sizable vote had it not attracted a fairly large number of landowning peasants. In truth, the extreme Left was always a sort of agrarian movement, and its rise to dominance after 1870 accompanied the change of the rural economy from a polyculture to a monoculture based on wine. In 1849 many small vineyard owners rallied to it in Aude, and in the cantons of the Garrigues of Hérault, and of Gard. Its "bread and butter" program—cheap credit and fiscal reform—certainly had appeal. Nonetheless, its greatest majorities were won in cantons with a large number of agricultural laborers, at least eight hundred landless workers or more, who rallied to its program of widespread landownership. To be sure, as stated already, a large working class was not a guarantee of Jacobin victory or even of a moderate Republican victory. In the plain of Aude a fairly large number of vineyard laborers voted conservative, apparently under the pressure of their employers. In the Hérault mountain communes, La Salvetat, Saint-Maurice-Navacelles, and Claret, laborers outnumbered employers by four to one, yet they, too, followed the example of many lowland workers of Aude. So did the laborers in the Garrigues zone around Roujan and Montagnac, and in the plain around Agde and Montpellier. In Gard the large number of vineyardworkers in the cantons of Vauvert and Roquemaure voted for moderate Republicans; those in St. Gilles for Royalists. The Mountain, nonetheless, won its most impressive victories where an extensive rural labor force was spread over an entire canton or over several cantons, not where the workers, however numerous,

although employed at fairly good wages thanks to government contracts, supported the extreme Left. This was an ideological commitment.

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were isolated in a single commune; they were particularly successful where the land laborers were led by urban laborers as in the cantons of Bédarieux, Lodève, Clermont, Béziers, Mèze, Maugio, and Lunel in Hérault, Carcassonne, Castelnaudary-Sud, and Chalabre in Aude, and Lédignan, Beaucaire, and Aramon in Gard. The impulse given by urban classes notwithstanding, the present and future of the extreme Left were ultimately dependent on the rural labor force, particularly on the vineyardworkers. It made notable progress where this force was already active and organized, as in the commune of Marsillargues in Lunel Canton, situated in the turbulent Vaunage.[38] This situation was characteristic of localities where Democratic-Socialists triumphed. Throughout France support for them came with as much gusto from rural as from industrial people, and most of the reddest departments were predominantly agricultural.[39]

There was, however, much industrial activity in commonly designated rural departments, and in lower Languedoc the extreme Left was highly dependent upon industrial workers, if the term "industrial" is not limited to exclusively large-scale enterprise. There was a good deal of petty and medium industry in rural Languedoc, and the ideal of the organization of work attracted to the Mountain an important segment of the domestic and artisanal working class. Domestic industrial labor meant, by and large, textile labor, not spinning, which was performed by females who could not vote, but weaving, washing, combing, dying, and so forth. Where textiles were centered in a town, even though the domestic system was common, workers tended to acquire a sense, if not of clearly defined class interests, at least of corporate interests. Male textile labor in Bédarieux, Lodève, and Clermont displayed early development in organization for strikes and in trade-union formation, even hiding their unions behind the façade of mutual-aid societies. During the July Monarchy they were in advance of workers living in most other industrial areas.[40] Their turn to the Left in politics was, however, too recent to project them conspicuously into the Jacobin leadership which was artisan or bourgeois.[41] Rather they constituted

[38] *Ibid.*, 132, police report of May 15, 1849.

[39] Jacques Bouillon, "Les démocrates-socialistes aux élections de 1849," *Revue française de science politique*, VI (No. 1, 1956), 86–89; see also Gaston Génîque, *L'élection de l'Assemblée Législative en 1849* (Paris, 1921).

[40] Peter Stearns, "Patterns of Industrial Strike Activity in France during the July Monarchy," *American Historical Review*, LXX (Jan. 1965), 371–94. Information on labor relations is scarcest for the Midi. A large-scale strike occurred in Lodève and Clermont during 1845, directed against the introduction of machinery, as well as to improve wages. (See Frank Manuel, "Introduction des machines en France et les ouvriers: La grève des tisserands de Lodève," *Revue d'histoire moderne*, New Ser., IV [No. 1, 1935], 209–25, 352–72.) This was, to our knowledge, the last strike before the February Revolution; disputes in 1847 were conciliated by local *conseils de prud'hommes*. (See AN, F^{12} 4476[c].)

[41] Apparently they leaned toward the Legitimists until 1848 when they were converted to democracy by the *sous-commissaire*, Marcel Atger. (See Émile Appolis, "Un démocrate sociale

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a fairly active part of the rank and file. This role, of course, was not passively narrow; it was broadened by the fact that many of them enjoyed only seasonal employment. Although they generally lived in towns, they also worked in agriculture during two or three months of the year. They therefore carried their Jacobinism to the peasants in the surrounding countryside, reinforcing the missionary work of many artisans. Given the seasonal nature of their work, they had the leisure to frequent *cafés* in nearby hamlets where peasants met *pour tuer le ver*. And, of course, when peasants came to town on market days, they joined the local petty bourgeois and urban artisans who gathered in Left-wing *cafés* to indoctrinate the rustics.

Apart from textiles the only other industries employing large numbers of men were metallurgy and mining. Both were located in the high hills and mountains. In the town of Alès the extreme Left enjoyed considerable success among metalworkers who had traveled, were open-minded, and were in an urban milieu that protected them from patron domination.[42] The rather large contingent of coal miners in the extreme northern cantons of Gard were, on the other hand, usually hostile to the Left. Most had been recruited from nearby mountain villages, were devoutly Catholic, and were easily controlled by the companies.[43] Mines and the metalworks in Aude were chiefly in the higher Corbières around Mouthoumet. They provided a numerically small but active labor force that helped spread Radical views in an area geographically cut off from the main routes of Left-wing propaganda. Mining in Hérault was as yet confined to the commune of Camplong in Bédarieux Canton, and miners were only a few hundred in number. Unlike those in Gard, many of them were Protestant. Since the conservatives defeated the Mountain by only a small majority, it is possible that Jacobins from nearby Bédarieux had converted a sizable portion of the laboring class. If there was conversion, however, it was not deep. Probably in the mining district of Hérault as in those of Gard, radicalism won fewer followers among miners than among artisans and petty bourgeois who usually displayed more defiance of the companies as well as of the government, and who, if they were Protestant or freethinking, lent to their politics a kind of religious militancy.[44]

sous la Seconde République, Marcel Atger," *Actes du 87e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes* [Paris, 1962], 363–75.)

[42] There were between fifteen hundred and two thousand metalworkers centralized in two mills. (Rivoire, *Statistique du département du Gard,* II, 186, and census of 1851.)

[43] AD, Gard, 6M 613. In the decades to follow, Bessèges became a center of revolutionary syndicalism, while Grand'Combe remained a center of royalism and Catholicism until the twentieth century.

[44] It has not been possible to obtain a precise knowledge of petty-middle-class attitudes in the coal basins. Interesting to note, however, was the prolabor position of many local merchants in the mining districts during the 1880's and 1890's. They hated company stores and therefore the companies. They were the creditors of miners during strikes.

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Certainly religion was a vital force in lower Languedoc. The halcyon days of brotherly love based on Christian belief and freedom of worship, which had been common immediately after the February Revolution, had largely disappeared between April and December 1848 when politics had acquired religious overtones. In the three departments under study the Catholic hierarchy was Royalist at heart, and in 1849 the three archbishops actively took up that cause. The Roman policy of the government further divided Catholics from non-Catholics, with the result that political conflict was exacerbated by religious passion. Both moderate republicanism and Jacobinism were or claimed to be Christian. Even in 1849, when Jacobins referred to themselves as socialists, they continued to preach a form of social gospel: "Le socialisme, . . . c'est l'œuvre pour laquelle Jésus-Christ est mort, c'est la bonne nouvelle annoncée par Saint-Paul."[45] In Aude, where there was only a handful of Protestants, the Mountain became strongly anticlerical and prosecular. Its conflict with the Church was largely political since it sought to reduce the power of the clergy in government and education. It appealed to the lower class in its campaign against upper-class clerics. Where members of the Reformed Church lived in small enclaves, as in some communes in the lower Hérault Valley and around Le Vigan and Ganges, they do not seem to have allowed their religion to influence unduly their politics. However, where they constituted a sizable (and therefore measurable) portion of the population, their religion and politics intertwined inextricably, and the conflict between Catholics and Calvinists was as much confessional as political and social. Members of the two faiths hardly communicated in communes west and south of Montpellier, in the Vaunage, and in a broad belt stretching from Nîmes along the upper Gard Valley to Saint-Jean-du-Gard.[46] Class feelings were obscured by religious alignments. Sometimes a common religion bound employer and employee in a common political view: the Catholic miners in Gard, many vineyardworkers in Aude, the Protestant silkworkers in Ganges and Le Vigan, many of the Catholic textileworkers in the second and third cantons of Nîmes, and the common laborers in the town of Montpellier. Quite clearly the working class in Nîmes and the miners in Alès *arrondissement* were motivated by religious rather than economic or social considerations; they voted for conservatives who opposed the legislative bills that would have improved their living conditions.

[45] See *Indépendant*, May 20, June 17, 1849.

[46] For statistics on the Protestant population, see AN, F^{19} 10031^{1}. Particularly important is Gérard Cholvy, "Les Protestants de l'Hérault: Essai d'évaluation numérique," *Annales du Midi*, LXXVII (No. 3, 1965), 319–32; Rivoire, *Statistique du département du Gard*, II, 439–43. S. R. Schram, *Protestantism and Politics in France* (Alençon, 1954), is useful, although it concentrates on the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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Religious differences, on the other hand, sometimes divided classes. In the textile center of Bédarieux workers tended to be freethinkers while employers were Protestant. In both local and national elections there the watchword of labor was "Do not vote for Protestants!"[47] In the first canton of Nîmes Catholic workers disliked their Protestant employers and voted for the Right. In Nîmes as in Montpellier, violent conflicts broke out between the adherents of the two religions, and each sought to control the National Guard so as to have an armed defense against its enemy.

Not all Protestants, nor all Catholics, were united in two distinct political camps. Wealthy Calvinists, who lived in towns such as Nîmes, Montpellier, Ganges, Lunel, Bédarieux, and Lodève, were generally Orleanists, and they had been highly favored by the July Monarchy. When they accepted the Second Republic in 1848, they were Constitutionalists; during 1849 they became Bonapartists.[48] Protestantism, on the other hand, provided the Mountain with some of its more ardent exponents: the agricultural laborers in Marsillargues and Mauguio in Hérault and the workers and small farmers in Saint-Jean-du-Gard and Anduze in Gard. Most of the Protestant population in 1849, however, favored constitutional republicanism seasoned with a dash of Jacobin fervor—provided the fervor was not too intense and the Jacobins displaying it were native sons. Religious considerations therefore place serious limitations on an economic interpretation of voting behavior. The Catholic who had voted for Republicans in 1848 voted for Royalists in 1849. The Calvinist who voted for moderates in 1848 and 1849 reacted accordingly by turning to the extreme Left. In both cases the government's religious policy rather than its economic or social policies brought about the change.

It is impossible to determine how extensive was the nonreligious or nonchurchgoing part of these voters. The censuses listed the number of Protestants and Jews, then classified the remainder of the population as Catholic. Yet the fact that religious practice declined sharply in lower Midi later in the nineteenth century would indicate that it had begun to decline by the middle of that century. It is highly probable, then, that an indeterminate number of voters, located chiefly in larger towns and along the seacoast, were only nominal or non-Christian. Because of the increasingly pro-Catholic policy of the central government, they would logically join the extreme Left to oppose it.

Between the summer of 1849 and the end of 1850 the extreme Left

[47] Émile Appolis, "La résistance au coup d'état du 2 décembre 1851 dans l'Hérault," *Actes du 77e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes* (Paris, 1952), 497.

[48] See AD, Hérault, 39M 142, police reports of May 15, 1852.

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finally emerged as the chief oppositional force in lower Languedoc. Its exponents captured control of the press as well as of the party machinery remaining after the May elections. As the government in Paris moved steadily toward the Right, Republicans moved rapidly toward the Left. Louis Napoleon's Roman policy and his repressive laws against the press, assembly, and speech destroyed the reason for being of moderate policies and reinforced the tendency toward revolutionary tactics. During two by-elections, Radicals took the lead in choosing candidates and preparing programs. In Montpellier during July a *Comité Républicain Démocratique de 93* chose Ferdinand Flocon, editor of *La Réforme* of Paris, to run for the seat vacated by Ledru-Rollin who had fled to England to escape prosecution. In Gard, during January 1850, Favand ran as a Jacobin and, like Flocon, took up the program of the extreme Left, especially its fiscal ideas. It is doubtful, however, that this Leftward shift was influenced in any decisive way by economic or social factors. Although the economic crisis continued to affect most voters, there was massive abstention in both elections. In consequence both candidates drew their support from a hard core of the Republican Left. Flocon received ten thousand fewer votes than Ledru-Rollin who had won in May, but he did not even leave Paris to campaign. His votes came chiefly from the plain and valleys. Favand won because the Catholic Royalist vote was split. He received 30 per cent of the registered voters, roughly the percentage of the Protestant population in the department. His backing came precisely from where it had come in 1849, the Protestant belt stretching from Vauvert in the plain to Saint-Jean-du-Gard in the mountains. Clearly Protestant republicanism was becoming red.[49] The Roman expedition and the Falloux education bill were certainly more important causes of this shift than economic distress.[50] When the Falloux bill was debated, Protestants were talking of insurrection and had already organized a large number of secret societies.[51]

The geographic distribution of these societies coincides, generally, with the areas where Radicals either won elections or a sizable percentage of the vote. In the Cévennes there were few of them: one at Saint-Jean-du-Gard where the Mountain was strong; others at Ganges, Le Vigan, Génolhac, and Barjac where it was not. The Republicans in the high zone did not

[49] The phrase "was becoming" for January 1850 is more suitable than "had become" because Favand's turn to the Left was not, according to the prefect, clearly understood by all his supporters. (See AN F^{10} III Gard[5], reports of Jan. 1850.)

[50] See *Républicain du Gard*, July 18, 1850, for the Republican and Protestant position on the Falloux bill; see also AN, BB^{30} 382, dr. 9567[8], report of *procureur général* of Nîmes, June 9, 1850.

[51] For lists of known societies and their organization, see the police reports in AD, Gard, 6M 613; AD, Hérault, 39M 132, 139, 144; AN, BB^{18} 1469, dr. 6579, BB^{18} 1474^{B}, dr. 6933[8], BB^{30} 391, 392[8], 394.

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resort to violence or to secrecy. In the hill zone, wherever Protestants were dominant, Republicans became militant, and every cantonal capital, as well as several small towns, had at least one society, sometimes two. In Alès, Anduze, Vézenobres, and Lédignan in the upper Gard Valley, there was open defiance of authority. Even in isolated cantons such as Lassalle, lying across the mountain and hill zones, there was a spirit of rebellion. For example, a young man, when called for military service in 1850, came dressed completely in red; others came with red flags bearing inscriptions such as *Liberté ou la mort.* The existence of these *frondeurs* was an important factor in the rise of the extreme Left. Although a minority, they were the local organizers who indoctrinated their neighbors, who read the press in *cafés,* who got out the vote, and who became martyrs in December 1851. They were Protestant, and their radicalism was a form of anti-Catholicism and therefore of antiroyalism. In the highlands they were active in an area dominated by small and medium farmers, with only a small landless working class, except in Alès. In the hill zone of Hérault, societies were also located chiefly in river valleys where Radicals were numerous. Limited in number, they formed a crescent stretching from Lodève, through Bédarieux, along the Hérault Valley, down to Béziers in the plain. This north-south belt, incidentally, was roughly the western extremity of really militant radicalism, more accurately, of revolutionary radicalism. In Aude, the extreme Left had declined after 1849. Only in Carcassonne, Narbonne, and a few other communes were there societies, and they were hardly active.

Aude is an interesting model that can serve to test the thesis that the rise of the extreme Left was dependent upon several types of leadership functioning within a generally favorable economic and social structure. Aude did not lack an upper echelon of Jacobin chiefs; Marcou in Carcassonne, Joseph Besse in Castelnaudary, and Raynal in Narbonne were as active and skillful as their counterparts elsewhere in lower Languedoc. What Aude lacked in sufficient measure was a petty bourgeois and artisan class to serve as a cadre of lower leadership, that is, as local organizers and militants. It also did not have the extensive textile labor force characteristic of its neighbors to the east. And, excepting several communes in the Narbonnais, it lacked a large rural proletariat. Aude was the most economically backward department in lower Languedoc, and wages were in the lowest category for all of France. Possibly its very backwardness deadened the full blow of agricultural and industrial depression; without much manufacturing or a large active working class, its peasants could at least live off their small holdings and wait. By 1850 they abandoned

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the perilous effort of translating their economic malaise into political action. In December 1851 many would vote against the *coup d'état,* but that must have been the last quiver of a dying reflex that would not return everywhere to healthy life even after 1870. Aude did not fully participate in what might be called a political take-off toward the Left that came after 1849. As the economy of the coast and low hills of lower Languedoc gained momentum and concentrated on wine production to the point of becoming a monoculture, it brought into existence a large rural laboring class that constituted the social basis of the extreme Left after 1850. These workers, as well as those in shops and textile mills, were by 1850–1851 confronted with a moderately rising level of costs and a stable level of wages. Indeed, their wages remained at the low point to which they had fallen in 1847–1848.[52] It is doubtful, however, that this economic factor was decisive. There is good reason to believe that most members of the extreme Left, by 1850, were ideologically motivated, and this was especially true of the working class. In Aude, where the working class was limited in size, the Mountain was more dependent on peasants, but peasants were turning to Bonapartism, lured by promises of government-supported public works to improve roads and conditions generally. Both the Radicals and the government promised these improvements, but every peasant knew that the government had money. Here is, perhaps, the real cause of peasant support for the *coup d'état.* A similar phenomenon occurred in Gard in Catholic areas located east of a line between Génolhac, Alès, and Aiguesmortes and in the northwest. Ideological commitment and the Protestant religion reinforced the drive to the Left in the western cantons.

The major areas of Radical organization by 1850, therefore, turned eastward from Béziers toward Beaucaire and then northward along the Rhône Valley to Bagnols. This was the belt where the vineyards were worked by a large proletariat and where local industry was in the hands of an active artisan class with Left-wing proclivities. Here there was a definite and direct relation between the number of secret societies and the size of the proletariat. By 1851 the workers who persistently voted radical were committed in mind and heart, a situation made clear during the *coup d'état.*[53]

[52] See also AN, F^{20} 712, 797, 798; tables in François Convert, *Les ouvriers agricoles et les salaires en présence du phylloxera* (Montpellier, 1878), 25.

[53] Useful information about resistance to the *coup d'état* can be found in Eugène Tenot, *La province en décembre 1851* (Paris, 1868); J. F. Jeanjean, *Le coup d'état du 2 décembre dans le département de l'Aude* (Paris, 1924); Adolphe Pieyre, *Histoire de la ville de Nîmes* (3 vols., Nîmes, 1886–87), II; *Documents pour servir à l'histoire du département du Gard contre le coup d'état,* ed. Jean Goirand (Alès, 1883); Martin, "Coup d'état dans l'Hérault"; Thomas, "Montpellier en 1851"; AN, F^{7} 12651, report of Dec. 13, 1851. AD, Gard, 6M 461, contains numerous police and prefectural reports.

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By December 1851 the extreme Left consisted of a hard core of determined leaders and a wavering number of followers, most of whom resorted to armed resistance against the *coup d'état.* There were between 2,500 and 3,000 men arrested in Hérault, about half this number in Gard, and several hundred in Aude. Over half of those arrested were either freed or placed under surveillance by decision of mixed commissions. These commissions were determined to eradicate the Left without excessively disrupting social and family life. Their indulgence emanated from the belief that, once the leaders of the hard core were removed, the remainder would settle down. They released, therefore, men who had been members and even chiefs of secret societies and who had taken part in open resistance. The most active and conspicuous Radicals were treated severely, and it is this group we shall study in order to observe the social composition of true radicalism at mid-century. The vast majority, about seventeen hundred in Hérault, nearly two hundred in Gard, and just over one hundred in Aude, were condemned to deportation to penal colonies in North Africa or, more rarely, in the tropics. A small number were jailed in France or exiled.[54]

In Aude large numbers of rural folk had voted for the extreme Left, but would not join secret societies or rise up to save the republic. In Gard roughly one-third of the peasants tried were deported, two-thirds released or placed under surveillance. The very large contingent sent to Algeria from Hérault resulted from Jacobinism having penetrated more deeply into the peasant class there than elsewhere. With its much larger contingent of rural vineyard labor, the number of peasants deported or jailed was nearly double the number of those released. The greater majority of this rural population, moreover, lived in the plains and low hills, indicating a larger landed proletariat than in Gard or Aude where peasant support consisted in large measure of part owners and small owners. It is unfortunate that we cannot state precisely how many proletarians there were in relation to landowners. Nearly all farmers were classed as *cultivateurs;* the only other significant classification was *propriétaires.* In Gard the number of *propriétaires* was just under one-half the number of *cultivateurs;* in Hérault, it was only one-sixth. This tends to confirm the proletarian character of rural radicalism in Hérault. Among the farmers deported, a considerable majority belonged to secret societies, and they formed about half of the leadership in them; they were active as decurions. In Gard and Aude men classed as

[54] Most of our information has been found in the local archives which contain extensive records giving for each accused both vital statistics and information about the role played during the revolt. (See AD, Aude, 5M 36–42; AD, Hérault, 39M 143, 161, 194; AD, Gard, 6M 594–600, 3U 5 1–3.) Figures in AN, BB^{30} 424, do not agree with those in local archives because some prisoners were pardoned before they left France or soon after their arrival. We are in this essay concerned with the condemned.

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proprietors constituted roughly half the agrarian leadership, whereas in Hérault proprietors acccounted for less than a third of it. The extreme Left in Hérault, then, as it spread to rural areas, acquired more of a working-class character. Probably here is the explanation for the violence it resorted to when resisting the *coup*.

And yet, it would be a serious error to assert that all *cultivateurs* were poor or workers. Information was sometimes furnished about the finances of men arrested. One *cultivateur* in Hérault was listed as having 18,000 francs in land and buildings, another as having 40,000 francs, others with 15,000 to 20,000, and several others with 3,000 to 10,000 francs in money or real estate. These, of course, were exceptional cases, amounting to less than 1 per cent of the total. Proprietors, on the other hand, usually possessed over 10,000 francs in money or land; one in Villeneuve had 70,000 francs and another 80,000 francs. Both were heads of secret societies and enjoyed considerable influence. In Gard the richest Radical was G. Caumel of Lassalle Commune, who had a fortune of 120,000 francs. According to the police he spent it among the poor to buy flattery. The remainder whose financial situation was elucidated had only a few thousand francs. Undoubtedly these reports are incomplete; however, they suggest why the extreme Left in Gard and in backward Aude could not adequately support a press: the lack of really wealthy individuals to finance it. Radicalism in Hérault, then, had attracted, to a greater degree than its neighbors, the two extremes of the economic classes.

The same extremes appeared in nonagricultural professions. The gamut ran from the wageworkers of Bédarieux to the Montpellier lawyer Alphonse Coulandre whose wealth amounted to 700,000 or 800,000 francs. Coulandre, of course, was exceptional, and his fortune undoubtedly came from the land, rather than the practice of law. The major source of wealth in the Midi was agriculture and the wine trade. And most wealthy persons were strongly opposed to the extreme Left. The extreme Left had, nonetheless, a fairly solid economic base centered in some butchers, ovenkeepers, merchants, industrialists, and enterprising artisans who possessed modest fortunes or property valued at from 2,000 to 20,000 francs. There were a wigmaker with 15,000 francs, a draftsman with 35,000, a hotelkeeper with 8,000, a day laborer (*journalier*) with 20,000, a blacksmith with 40,000, a porter or carrier, called *col de fer,* with 6,000, and a few blacksmiths with 4,000 to 40,000 francs. The wealthy men, with several thousands in revenue or capital, were often local and departmental leaders, and the mixed commissions expended upon them the wrath that civil and military officialdom felt toward the extreme Left. They were deported in large numbers. Altogether,

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in Hérault, they constituted about one-twentieth of the *Montagnards* involved in uprisings and about one-fifteenth of the deported.

Sharing leadership and constituting, with peasants and landowners, the true body of the Left, were men in the crafts, petty commerce, and the liberal professions. Particularly in Aude and Gard, where peasant response was relatively weak, the middling and petty middle class displayed the strength and weakness of the Left: strength in that they sacrificed wealth and freedom; weakness in that they could not unite in the face of a deadly threat. The industries most actively represented were artisanal. When the cry "To Arms" was spread abroad, shoemakers responded with remarkable vigor. They and tailors made the clothing trade one of the most active. Equally active were men in the building trade: carpenters and cabinetmakers, masons, plasterers, and locksmiths. Then came barrelmakers from the wine areas, tanners, and smiths.

Where there were large concentrations of wage labor, opposition to the *coup* was weak. Chalabre, Saint-Chinion, and Bédarieux were the only textile centers where labor acted vigorously. In Bédarieux the leaders condemned to death for killing police agents were, except for two, nontextileworkers, and, among the rank and file, artisans were as numerous as weavers and spinners, although considerably less numerous in the total active population. The same observation applies to Saint-Chinion. In Lodève textileworkers were organized in a *Club des Cinq* and in the *Centurie Benoît* and the *Centurie Pioch*. But they did not join the opposition, perhaps because of the presence of troops and because of economic prosperity. Neither was there any response from two important silk textile centers: Ganges and Le Vigan in the high hills. Not even the numerous Protestants there took up arms. Miners in the large basin in Gard were organized in a militia to oppose the Left, and the few *Montagnards* dispatched there to stir up the miners encountered mute resistance.[55]

In commerce and services butchers, bakers, petty merchants, and *café* owners predominated; then came some salesmen, clerks, and barbers. The liberal professions supplied lawyers, notaries, medical doctors, and students. The arts provided a few writers, sculptors, and lithographers, but only Montpellier and Nîmes could support intellectuals, and they, like teachers, were closely controlled by the government. By no means was this a revolution of the intellectuals even though there were journalists who were often former teachers, lawyers, or landowners. Notable was the one and only banker, from Montpellier, and the one stockbroker, from Nîmes.

Practically all of these men were honest, law-abiding citizens. With few

[55] AD, Gard, 6M 461, reports of subprefects, Dec. 1851.

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exceptions they had been born and lived in the same commune. If not, the commune where they lived, in relation to their place of birth, was in the same or neighboring canton, certainly in the same department. There were, as yet, few foreigners, most of whom were Spaniards or Italians working in the vineyards and disinterested in politics. Of the natives who were deported, about 5 per cent had criminal records; most of them had been prosecuted for insulting the police or local judges, for inciting to resistance, for *tapage nocturne,* all of which were political offenses. About an equal percentage had previously been found guilty of violating hunting laws. Poaching was as common among Languedocians as smuggling was among Basques, and as tolerated by local opinion. To be sure, the insurrectionary movements gathered up all sorts of persons: a few convicted murderers; some thieves, chiefly men who had filched their neighbors' crops; some who beat their wives and abandoned their children; at least two pimps. But these elements accounted for less than 1 per cent of the deported and even less of the larger number who acted to oppose the *coup*. In several instances in Hérault violence was extreme. In Bédarieux men with and without prison records invaded the police headquarters and shot several officers; they did so, however, only after two officers had killed a seventy-year-old man and wounded his young companion, apparently without serious provocation. Official reports state that the bloodthirsty mob, after invading the headquarters, even cut off the testicles of one dead officer, an accusation that was not adequately proved and that was later denied by Eugène Tenot.[56] The *révoltés* of Bédarieux were severely aggrieved and surly because the government had granted cloth contracts to Lodève, yet they were no more brutal than the commanding general, De Rostolon. Once in power they preserved order, threatened thieves with death, and did not molest conservatives. Their two most influential leaders, the rich proprietor Paul Belugou and the clockmaker Pierre Bonnel, opposed excesses. The same policy was followed in other communes where the lower classes seized power.[57] There were, of course, acts of irrational brutality committed by excited crowds: the butchering by error of two Republicans in Béziers after troops had shot down over seventy demonstrators; the murder of the local priest by the people of Cébazan, an isolated incident. There was usually more threat to commit violence than actual commission, and in some textile centers acts of disorder had little to do with politics. At Saint-Chinion, Saint-Pons, and

[56] Tenot, *Province en décembre 1851,* 114–17; see AD, Hérault, 39M 142, report of Dec. 4, 1851; Roger Allaire, *Histoire de la ville de Bédarieux* (Bédarieux, 1911), 189–204.

[57] Tenot, *Province en décembre 1851,* 102–103; Appolis, "Résistance au coup d'état," 492–97; Martin, "Coup d'état," 75–79. When resisters broke into town halls and country houses they took whatever arms and munitions were available, not valuables or money.

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Riols, weaver-peasants sought more to break machines than to save the republic. Worker and peasant aggression sometimes took the form of stone throwing and isolated shooting at police officers and forest guards who sought to prevent poaching. The lower classes had to hunt to supplement their meager diets, especially since agricultural prices were just beginning to rise after four years of depression. But their acts, compared to the brutality of the soldiery and the veritable terror exercised by Legitimists in Montpellier, seem rather restrained. Legitimists more so than Imperialists, of whom there were few, took leading Radicals, attached them to bars of iron, chained them together, and marched them through the streets. It was they who put political prisoners into minute and filthy cells with only humid straw to sleep on and kept them there until their hearings, two or three months later.[58] There were acts of cruelty and bitterness on both sides; it is surprising that there were not worse excesses.

A greater sense of responsibility undoubtedly existed among the resisters because over two-thirds of them were married; nearly eight-ninths of the married were fathers, and, among the fathers, the vast majority had one or two children, with roughly one-fourth having three or more. Quite clearly it was not with a light heart that these family men took up arms. Since they constituted most of the leadership, their ideological commitment was strong, and to their children they left a republican heritage that survived them. Of course about a third of the resisters were celibates, a situation explained by the relative youth of most Jacobins. Slightly under one-half were in their twenties. The *Montagnards* did not marry early, hardly any before the age of twenty-five. Three-fifths of the bachelors were under thirty and over one-fifth in their thirties. Likewise, most of the married men and fathers were in their late twenties and thirties.

Here was the Radical generation of the Second Republic who lived on to educate their children in the ideas of Jacobinism and who, with their aid, helped to found the Third Republic.[59] Quite frequently Radical commitment was a family matter; fathers and sons, uncles and brothers were active in local secret societies and joined together in the bands marching to save the republic. That not even repression could efface the memory of them was revealed in the plebiscite of December 20, 1851; Gard, Hérault, and Aude, through a *non* or abstention, ranked among the five departments with the highest oppositional vote to Louis Napoleon's "crime." The remem-

[58] See the lurid accounts in *La Liberté,* Dec. 10, 1869; André Minet, "La bourgeoisie montpellieraine et le second Empire," *Diplôme d'Études Supérieures,* University of Montpellier, 1963, 29.

[59] By the law of July 30, 1881, the republic provided pensions for victims of the *coup d'état* or their heirs.

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brance of it lay dormant for nineteen years among the peasants and artisans of the plains and valleys, and among the Protestants and woodsmen of the high hills and mountains. The ideals and hopes of the extreme Left had become rooted like the southern olive tree.

The extreme Left emerged and grew as the end product of several forces. One of them was economic, and wine production made a multiple contribution. It was a perturbing element in southern life, bringing mobility and movement, and a volatile population, less rooted, less traditionalistic. It was also instrumental in rearranging the social hierarchy by greatly expanding the base. It brought into existence a large rural proletariat that constituted the mass following of Radical leaders. Finally, it greatly enhanced urban life and attitudes, even where there were no large cities, by increasing population density, commerce, and industry serving its needs. The extreme Left had its feet in the low-lying countryside and its head in the town.

The town contained its most active organizational force: craftsmen and petty middle class. They were in fairly close contact with rural workers and indoctrinated them. There was no sharp division between town and countryside; there was, on the contrary, easy exchange between the two in the wine districts. Even the command leadership, made up chiefly of men from the educated middle class, harangued peasants in the fields and visited small communes. Therefore a favorable social structure, in certain areas, was another force.

Geography was still another influence because Democratic-Socialism had its following predominantly in areas where communication and movement were easy: the coastal plain and larger river valleys. As a new movement it did not enjoy a favorable human response conditioned by centuries of propaganda. Its success required a radical change of human response; consequently a topography encouraging the spread of new ideas and a mobile population less bound by tradition were essential factors. Wine attracted people to the lowlands where, eventually, they proved to be more receptive to novelty.

Ideology became a major force. Weak in 1848, it took more definite shape during the next few years as its roots went deeper into the populace. Where this phenomenon did not occur, Radical democracy did not endure the governmental oppression of 1850–1851. In Aude many peasants had voted for the extreme Left out of economic despair; they did not become committed in their minds or their hearts. People became committed ideologically chiefly in the lowlands where, in time, Radical ideas constituted a

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new tradition that displaced the old. Here the challenge to innovation was not so difficult that it discouraged human effort. Eventually a new, volatile civilization appeared that moved more to the Left with each new generation—and each new crisis of the wine industry.

This type of response was especially notable among Calvinists. Protestantism did not ineluctably bring about Democratic-Socialism. It was, rather, where Protestants were numerous and distrustful of their Catholic persecutors that their religion became a force driving them to the extreme Left after mid-1849. This "drive to the Left" became a fixed phenomenon in the Vaunage and upper Gard Valley, two regions with different economies and social structures, and yet a common mind.

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The Strategy of Southern Railroads

MAURY KLEIN*

TO contemporary observers and historians alike the amazing expansion of southern railroads after the Civil War seemed an economic miracle of the age. The wonder of it all lay not merely in rapid growth itself; northern and western railroads had extended themselves with no less alacrity. But expansion in the North derived from an already sizable and flourishing network that had grown considerably stronger during the war. The South, on the other hand, emerged from combat with its roads in ruins, the victims of systematic destruction and four years of unallayed wear. Where northern roads continued to grow the South had first to rebuild, and it faced the task shorn of most of the necessary resources for doing so. Capital was lacking, labor proved exceedingly scarce, and plant, tools, and equipment could be obtained only in the North or abroad. In addition, its shattered economy offered little hope of supporting the renovated lines for some time to come.[1]

Yet in less than thirty years the South more than tripled its railway mileage, and the worn, disconnected roads of 1865 were transformed into a cohesive network dominated by a handful of giant systems. The following figures trace the ratio of southern growth compared to the nation as a whole:[2]

Years	(A) South	(B) North	(C) Ratio of Growth
1860–70	.267	.915	.292
1870–80	.319	.882	.362
1880–90	.984	.750	1.312
1890–93	.080	.063	1.257

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[1] The standard work on restoration is Carl Russell Fish, *The Restoration of Southern Railroads* (Madison, Wis., 1919). An excellent insight into problems involved and solutions attempted can be garnered by reading the annual reports of the various companies. Sizable collections can be found at Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, and at the Bureau of Railroad Economics, Washington, D.C.

[2] These calculations are based on figures taken from Henry V. Poor, *Manual of the Railroads of the United States for 1894* (57 vols., New York, 1868–1924), XIV–XV. They include

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As the figures indicate, expansion proceeded at a rapid and highly uneven pace. It seems clear that both the tempo and nature of southern rail development changed significantly around 1880. Contemporary observers noted the shift, too, and ascribed it primarily to a growing trend toward consolidation.[3] Historians, on the other hand, have explained it in terms of a reviving southern economy and growing national prosperity, the emergence of a vigorous and ambitious new group of southern business leaders, an increasing interregional diffusion of capital, the growth of national markets, the heightened interest in railroad securities, and the effect of recurring business cycles during the late nineteenth century.

All of these factors contain important and perceptive elements of truth, but they tend to paint the broad canvas primarily from hindsight. Such a general picture of economic activity tells us little about the decision-making process that led to this end result. The importance of entrepreneurial decisions in shaping the economic environment has been well described by Alfred Marshall and Joseph Schumpeter, to say nothing of Adam Smith.[4] While much had been written about the general pattern of southern economic development, little effort has been made to relate it to decision-making activity.

The purpose of this article will be to trace the evolving strategy of southern railroad managers as they sought to cope with a rapidly changing economic environment. Strategy and entrepreneurial motivation are important because they illuminate the crucial question of resource (capital) allocation. They also offer insight into the equally important question of social versus private gains in an economy operating with fewer social restraints than exist today. The hope is that the analysis will suggest why the allocation of resources for one region proceeded as it did, and how the participants viewed social versus private gains.

For clarity it will be helpful to divide the period into two phases: the era of territorial expansion, 1865–1880; and the era of interterritorial expansion, 1880–1893. The division is somewhat arbitrary, and the dates will certainly not fit all roads with equal precision. It does, however, provide a useful conceptual framework for understanding the nature of expansion policy. This study will concentrate upon the more established roads whose origins

the states embraced within Groups IV and V of the Interstate Commerce Commission divisions with the exception of West Virginia. These ten states comprise the basis for this study. The index given in Column C represents the ratio of growth of southern railroads over that of the rest of the nation. Column A, the growth rate of southern railroads, serves as numerator. Column B, the denominator, is the growth rate for the rest of the nation. The equation thus used was A/B = C.

[3] See *Railroad Gazette,* XIII, 586–87; *Railway World,* XXV, 762–63.

[4] Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics* (London, 1920); Joseph Schumpeter, *The Theory of Economic Development* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961).

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antedate the war. Ten of these key roads comprise the nuclei of the major systems destined to dominate the South by 1893: the Richmond & Danville; East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia; Georgia; Central of Georgia; Louisville & Nashville; Nashville, Chattanooga, & St. Louis; Seaboard & Roanoke; Wilmington & Weldon; Norfolk & Western (Atlantic, Mississippi, & Ohio until 1881); and Savannah, Florida, & Western (Atlantic & Gulf until 1879).[5] As the oldest and ultimately most successful lines, these companies provide the continuity necessary for a study in strategy. They survived the entire period, confronted the major problems that arose, and formulated policies to deal with them.

The men who dominated southern railroads immediately after the war were for the most part the same group that had controlled them before 1860.[6] They belonged to the generation that had built the early railroads and represented powerful financial and commercial interests in the territory drained by the road, especially its key terminal city. Since their economic horizon rarely extended beyond that city or port, they assumed a naturally provincial attitude toward the road's function. They conceived it primarily as their most potent weapon in the growing commercial rivalry between leading southern ports and interior distributing centers. In formulating policy they sought to achieve three basic goals: long-term investment profit, localization of traffic at the principal terminus, and development of the economic resources of the region tributary to the road.[7]

From this localized perspective emerged the territorial concept that guided southern railroad policy making before and after the war. The road existed to service its key terminus and the region tributary to it. The welfare of city, territory, and company alike required that all concerned realize their mutually dependent relationship and the need to perpetuate it. Basic to this realization was the tenet of one road for one territory. The region drained by the road constituted its realm of control, much like a feudal barony, with boundaries determined by the line's terminals and connecting points. The description of western territorial strategy by Julius Grodinsky applies equally well to southern conditions:

[5] For more detail on the role of these roads, see my article on southern railway leaders, to be published in a forthcoming issue of *Business History Review*.

[6] This conclusion is based upon a study of biographical data on eighty-eight prominent southern railroad men, a survey of boards of directors for the period 1855–1875, and the testimony given in *Southern Railroads*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., House Reports, No. 3 (Washington, D. C., 1868), I, 1–130.

[7] The origins and development of several major southern roads are traced in detail in U. B. Phillips, *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860* (New York, 1913); see also George R. Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution 1815–1816* (New York, 1951), Chap. v. The emphasis upon localization of traffic on ante bellum and early postwar southern roads is succinctly illustrated in *id.* and Irene Neu, *The American Railway Network, 1861–1890* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 3–5, 41–48.

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To serve a territory with no railroad competition was the ambition of every railroad operator. . . . An exclusively controlled local territory, was a valuable asset, as long as it lasted. A monopoly of this kind was perhaps the most important strategic advantage of a railroad, provided, of course, the monopolized area either originated valuable traffic or served as a market for goods produced in other areas. Territory thus controlled was looked upon as "natural" territory. It belonged to the road that first reached the area. The construction of a line by a competitor was an "invasion." Such a construction, even by a business friend of the "possessing" road, was considered an unfriendly act. The former business friend became an enemy.[8]

In the ante bellum period prevailing conditions nurtured territorial strategy. Competition within the skeletal southern network scarcely existed for through traffic and was virtually absent at the local level. The predominance of local traffic with its higher noncompetitive rate structure permitted many roads to achieve financial stability, retire part of their debt, and pay regular dividends. The strategy of stressing long-term goals by protecting the territory, constructing short feeder lines into yet untapped corners, maintaining the road by regularly plowing back earnings and paying dividends consistently had become both plausible and remunerative. The spurt of construction during the 1850's posed some threats to the territorial concept, but none serious enough to warrant rethinking of the strategy.[9]

Had the war not intervened, it might be supposed that continued construction would eventually have forced modification of the territorial strategy. The impact of the South's defeat, however, caused an immediate derangement in the economic environment. The cost of rehabilitation disrupted ante bellum policies by burdening the roads with additional debt and thereby enlarging fixed costs. To service this extra financial load the roads would require more traffic at higher rates, but both proved difficult to obtain in the impoverished postwar South. The old reliance upon patient development of local traffic continued, but obviously could not provide immediate relief to pressing financial needs. For most managers the only feasible alternative lay in securing more through traffic to augment local income.

The desire for increased through traffic involved a host of problems. Unlike most local traffic, it brought distant and once neutral roads into fierce competition for an uncertain traffic at considerably lower and wildly fluctuating rates. Since through lines consisted of separate connecting roads,

[8] Julius Grodinsky, *Transcontinental Railway Strategy 1869–1893* (Philadelphia, 1962), 104–105.

[9] A good example of such a threat can be found in the objections of President R. R. Cuyler of the Central of Georgia to the proposed building of a line from Macon to Brunswick. (Annual Report of the Central of Georgia Railroad & Banking Company, 1856, 52–55; 1857, 77–80; 1858, 104–107; 1860, 14–15.)

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command of through traffic also demanded a high level of cooperation along the line. Competition for through tonnage could only be cutthroat and treacherous, and the returns extremely unstable. Most managers seemed reluctant to touch the problems involved, but economic circumstances forced a shift in strategy.[10] Traditional dependence upon local traffic would not do in the South's debilitated state. The fluctuation of crops in the overwhelmingly agricultural South further unsettled earning expectations, and later the advent of state railroad commissions helped depress both local and through rates. Under conditions that promoted uncertain traffic and steadily falling rates there seemed no feasible alternative but to adopt a policy stressing a heavy increase in tonnage carried.

The gradual shift in emphasis from local to through traffic constitutes the most significant factor in southern railway strategy. It would have a profound effect upon the development of large integrated systems, which evolved not from coherent planning but through a process of piecemeal expansion based upon momentary needs. It gave rise to the rapid expansion and consolidation movements characteristic of the 1870's and 1880's. The economic factors behind it affected policy decisions in virtually every company and often resulted in bitter fights for control. Perhaps most important, the financial difficulties created by its pursuit lay behind a change in profit motivation. In 1860 most southern railroad managers sought to realize profits through efficient operation of the property. By the late 1880's, however, the operation of most southern roads had ceased to be profitable.[11] The source of individual rewards lay instead in manipulation of the road's financial structure, usually to the detriment of the company.

In concrete terms the change in strategic thinking manifested itself most clearly in expansion policy. The need to assure stable through routes forced managers to reconsider the territorial concept. As an integral part of traditional policy they could not easily disavow it; nor did they wish to. In Schumpeter's terms they were prisoners of their pasts:

> Past economic periods govern the activity of the individual. . . . All preceding periods have, furthermore, entangled him in a net of social and economic connections which he cannot easily shake off. They have bequeathed him definite means and methods. . . . All these hold him in iron fetters fast in his tracks.[12]

Unable to abandon the old strategy entirely, they tended to recast it into the notion of an enlarged territory suitable for controlling a through line but

[10] This reluctance to compete for through traffic is well illustrated in the Annual Report of the Seaboard & Roanoke Railroad, 1867, 14–15.

[11] For a quantitative study substantiating this point, see Maury Klein and Kozo Yamamura, "The Growth Strategies of Southern Railroads, 1865–1893," *Business History Review*, XLI (Winter 1967), 358–77.

[12] Schumpeter, *Theory of Economic Development*, 6.

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still capable of being sealed off from encroaching rivals. To achieve this end three alternative tactics seemed possible: cooperation, construction, and consolidation. The applicability of each for a given road depended upon its individual circumstances, but most managers attempted some combination of all three.

Cooperation assumed many forms. On the simplest level it involved agreements with connecting lines to promote through traffic at common rates. Sometimes the alliance sought to provide the road with entry into hitherto untapped territory, but more often it aimed at uniting several companies into a competitive through line.[13] Later in the period, protection of their mutual territories might prompt several roads to ally against invading lines and competing routes.[14] One of the most ambitious proposals, which never materialized, called for the formation of a pool composed of the Cincinnati Southern, Kentucky Central, East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia, Chesapeake & Ohio, South Carolina, and the Erlanger roads.[15] On a grander scale the managers attempted cooperation in two vital areas: fast freight service and maintenance of rates. The first occurred with the formation of the Green Line in 1868 and the second with the founding of the Southern Railway and Steamship Association in 1875.[16]

While this association proved to be the most successful major railway pool, it could not completely stifle rate cutting and other abuses; nor could it bring an end to competition. As commercial rivalry, aided to some degree by Reconstruction politics, spurred construction of new lines, managers quickly realized that cooperation alone was too tenuous a foundation for defense of the territory. Alliances once made could be easily unmade if better opportunities arose. The temptation to eschew long-term stability for short-term profits became especially irresistible to the hungrier roads. The opening of a new and "invading" line tended to alter existing relationships dramatically and to cause a shuffling of alliances.[17] And the stakes were

[13] Annual Report of the East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia Railroad, 1870, 14; Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1880, 7. Such alliances occasionally extended to river and coastal steamers. (See Annual Report of the Southwestern Railroad, 1868, 574.)

[14] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XXX, 384, 542; XXXIII, 357; *Railway World,* XXV, 980; XXVII, 1072.

[15] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XXXII, 121.

[16] For background on the Green Line and the association, see William H. Joubert, *Southern Freight Rates in Transition* (Gainesville, Fla., 1949), Chap. II; *Report of the Industrial Commission* (19 vols., Washington, D. C., 1900–1902), IX, 626–27; Taylor and Neu, *American Railway Network,* 71–74; Henry Hudson, "The Southern Railway and Steamship Association," *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* V (No. 4, 1891), 70–94. Good insight into the conditions that produced the association can be found in the Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1872, 15.

[17] For typical reactions to such "invasions," see Annual Report of the East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia, 1873, 7–11; Annual Report of the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad, 1870, 9; Annual Report of the Richmond & Danville Railroad, 1875, 324; Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1866, 308–309; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XXIV, 466.

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high. Loss of a vital connector meant serious diversion of business and sometimes even a fatal blow to the company. The president of the Macon & Brunswick attributed the receivership of his road to just such an isolation:

> The entire failure of our road is due to our having been blocked at Macon. The road never could have been built had it been supposed possible that lines north of that point could have been closed so effectually as has been done by the leases and amalgamations of these outlets northward.[18]

Fearful of isolation, managers naturally resorted to securing their vital connections on a more permanent basis. Hence began the growing reliance upon construction and consolidation as methods of achieving stability. Heretofore expansion had been perceived mainly as the construction of small feeder lines to develop local resources; now it came to be seen as the building or acquisition of larger roads to ensure through connections. The timetable of growth naturally varied, but no major road remained unaffected by the need. The potential dangers raised by the activities of rival lines spurred even the most reluctant manager to enlarge his domain. The Louisville & Nashville, having suffered no serious war damage and having been blessed with farsighted management, commenced expansion immediately after the war. It extended southward into the rich Alabama mineral lands, acquired connecting roads to Memphis, and built eastward toward a Tennessee connection.[19] By 1873 President H. D. Newcomb could report:

> With the completion of the South & North Alabama Railroad the Company has now practically carried out the policy which was inaugurated some seven years ago under . . . the late Hon. James Guthrie, then President. . . . The importance of this enterprise cannot be overestimated; without it the Louisville & Nashville would be entirely dependent for its connections to the Southeast and Southwest upon other railroads, whose interests are not identified with ours, but are directly opposed to them. It would have been in the power of these companies to exclude us at any time from the business of the South, and make the property of this Company comparatively worthless.[20]

But the management of the Louisville & Nashville, though the road was a pacesetter in expansion, soon decided it had not gone far enough. Defense of the territory proved a difficult task, especially after the panic of 1873, and additional mileage meant additional realm to be protected. Growth of rival roads posed threats on every flank and prompted further expansion to meet them. Under the guidance of Dr. E. D. Standiford and Newcomb's brilliant

[18] *Ibid.*, XX, 501. Laments over the loss of key connections are plentiful. (See *ibid.*, XXII, 180; XXXII, 576–77; Annual Report of the Raleigh & Gaston Railroad, 1873, 18; Annual Report of the Richmond & Danville, 1879, 204.)

[19] The Annual Reports of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, 1866–1873, nicely explain the early phase of its growth. (See also Ethel Armes, *The Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama* [Birmingham, 1910], 245–47.)

[20] Annual Report of the Louisville & Nashville, 1873, 10.

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son, H. Victor Newcomb, the company doubled its size from 921 miles controlled in 1873 to 1,840 miles in 1880. In the latter year young Newcomb summarized his goals and policies:

> The year under review has probably been the most eventful and stirring in the history of your company. . . . your Board deemed it vital to the protection of your traffic, and the extension of your legitimate business, to secure, without delay, certain connecting lines, which it was feared might otherwise pass under control of interests inimical to yours . . . your system, as now perfected, is invulnerable to the attacks and assaults of any of its competitors. . . . it is the absolute conviction of your management that the vast command of territory now embraced by your lines of road, with the commanding and strategic position enjoyed by your company, renders the construction of new and competitive lines incapable of inflicting serious damage or loss of business upon your company.[21]

Most of the other roads followed a similar pattern on a smaller scale. The Danville, aided by the Pennsylvania Railroad, constructed a line into Atlanta and joined it to other, smaller acquisitions to form the "Piedmont Air Line."[22] The East Tennessee, itself the product of an 1869 consolidation, secured control of the Memphis & Charleston and gained outlets to the south via the Selma, Rome, & Dalton. To guarantee a through line it also formed an alliance with the Atlantic, Mississippi, & Ohio, which connected with the East Tennessee at Bristol and reached Norfolk.[23] The Central of Georgia, under the guidance of William M. Wadley, deplored the expansion trend, but lost no time joining it. By 1873 Wadley had leased the Southwestern Railroad, absorbed his connector to Atlanta, acquired a fleet of Savannah-based steamers, and bought into several smaller lines. No one could doubt that he had girded for battle:

> New York is, and will continue to be, the great commercial centre of the country. This being recognized, and the fact that there are numerous land routes from the South and Southwest, terminating at New York, the question to be settled is whether an all rail or rail and ocean transportation is the cheapest. This contest is upon us, and, without the absolute control of ships, would be quite out of our power to make the issue, which, it is believed, must ultimately be decided in our favor.[24]

The strategy of territorial expansion, either by construction or consolidation, proved expensive. It often meant passed or reduced dividends and therefore required considerable justification to the stockholders. The most striking aspect of the expansion rationale was its essentially defensive nature. Most managers conceded freely that new acquisitions would not be a

[21] *Ibid.*, 1880, 17–23. Virtually all this expansion came during Victor Newcomb's brief tenure as president, March 24–December 1, 1880.

[22] Annual Report of the Richmond & Danville, 1873, 121–37.

[23] Annual Report of the East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia, 1877, 7–13.

[24] Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1873, 11–12. The Central's expansion is clearly outlined in the annual reports for the period 1866–1873.

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source of *direct* profit for some time.[25] They had acted from necessity rather than choice, and they sought mainly to protect instead of expand. Additions to the system drained valuable capital and usually brought more problems than benefits to the company, but they were needed to survive. Victor Newcomb insisted that

> Your management has never contemplated . . . an aggressive policy in dealing with its connections or competitors, and what has been accomplished in the way of extension to your system, has been done solely with a view to the protection and extension of your natural and legitimate business, and in no single instance from a spirit of aggrandizement.[26]

Three years earlier the elder Newcomb justified the purchase of a small road by noting that "Forming part of a through line, it was, in conjunction with its connections, a constant disturber of rates to nearly every portion of the South and Southwest, and the injury it was capable of inflicting has been several times very apparent."[27] In defending his purchase of the Montgomery & Eufaula Railroad, Wadley argued that "That road is so situated that if in the hands of parties whose interests were in antagonism with this Company our interest could not fail to suffer seriously."[28] A later apologist for Wadley's policy recalled that "Indeed, it was at the time on the part of the Central a fight for existence, for it is a well-known fact that some of its best friends . . . very much feared bankruptcy."[29]

The strategy of territorial expansion had already drawn southern roads into fierce conflict by 1873, but panic and depression brought matters to a crisis. Only a steady growth of business could alleviate the financial burdens of restoration and expansion, the cost of which left even the strongest roads little margin for withstanding adversity. Policy makers had presumed that their efforts would create some stability among the roads, but the economic contraction hit them like a thunderclap. Unable to survive the blow, weaker roads succumbed rapidly to default and receivership.[30]

The failure of so many roads aggravated an already bad situation. Rates declined steadily as the bankrupt roads, freed from payment on their debt, undercut their solvent competitors ruthlessly to get whatever business offered. More important, foreclosure made the purchase of many key roads cheap and easy for rival companies. And since many of the defaulted lines

[25] For examples of such admissions, see Annual Report of the East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia, 1877, 12; Annual Report of the Richmond & Danville, 1874, 229; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XIX, 118.

[26] Annual Report of the Louisville & Nashville, 1880, 21.

[27] *Ibid.,* 1877, 10–11.

[28] Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1879, 7.

[29] Unidentified clipping, Dec. 22, 1882, in William Raoul Scrapbooks, Emory University, III, 22–23; see also Annual Report of the Nashville & Chattanooga, 1870, 9.

[30] Figures on the number and mileage of roads in default can be found in John F. Stover, *The Railroads of the South 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1955), 123–25.

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had themselves pursued expansion by acquiring stock and bonds in connecting roads, purchase of the parent company often meant control over subsidiary lines as well.[31] The old defensive fears reasserted themselves in earnest after 1873. Managers of solvent roads, though struggling to keep their own companies afloat, could not resist the temptation to snatch up foreclosed roads in order to prevent rivals from doing so. By the late 1870's a new race toward consolidation had begun.[32]

In renewing their dependence upon expansion the managers sealed their own doom. Clinging faithfully to the territorial concept and reluctant to expand their economic horizons, they tried once more to isolate their domains. But their very efforts to preserve the territorial concept created the seeds of its destruction. Their attempts at defensive expansion under depression conditions deeply antagonized many stockholders. Conservative investors resented the sacrifice of dividends to the acquisition of insolvent roads and prophesied inevitable bankruptcy; impatient younger holders generally approved expansion, but opposed the grudging, piecemeal approach of the older managers.

Severe clashes over policy erupted on many boards. One by one the old managers fell victim to age, organized opposition, and obsolete policies as their roads passed into the control of a new generation. John P. King, who had helped build the Georgia Railroad and served as its president from 1841, was defeated for re-election after a bitter campaign in 1878.[33] Victor Newcomb mysteriously resigned the L & N presidency after less than a year in office. Wadley died in office in 1882 amidst powerful opposition to his policies. For a time his son-in-law, William G. Raoul, managed to pursue a modified version of the old strategy, but he too lost a heated election in 1887.[34] A. S. Buford of the Danville survived a transition in ownership in 1880, but fell out with his new employers over policy and resigned in 1886.[35] Others, like John Screven of the Atlantic & Gulf and William J. McGrath of the South Carolina, lost their roads through receivership.

The territorial strategy failed because it became increasingly inapplicable to the economic environment. A major cause of its demise, however, rested with the managers themselves and their inability to perceive the logical consequences of their policies. Expansion had proved ineffective as a de-

[31] *Railroad Gazette,* XIII, 586–87.

[32] A good example of rivals seeking a bankrupt road can be found in *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XXIX, 381, and Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1879, 7.

[33] *Railroad Gazette,* X, 247–48; Augusta *Chronicle and Constitutionalist,* May 7, 1880.

[34] See the Edward Porter Alexander papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, and the Savannah *Morning News* and *Evening Press,* July 1882–Jan. 1883; July 1886–Jan. 1887.

[35] *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography,* ed. L. G. Tyler (5 vols., New York, 1915), V, 701–702.

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fensive strategy. It could not succeed because it fed upon its own impetus. In trying to seal off the territories the managers only further exposed them by enlargement. The process of building new lines or of acquiring old ones brought previously neutral companies into direct confrontation, with each branding the other an "invader." Territories that once seemed distinct now developed overlapping zones of conflict, especially as rival companies pushed into hitherto untapped regions or sought entrance into some more distant commercial center. The result was not protection but increased warfare, not stability but competition at more places and on a grander scale.

One astute observer, Joseph Nimmo, sensed what was taking place, not only in the South but in the nation as a whole:

> There is reason to believe that the managers of certain of the great railroad organizations of the country, in attempting to carry out their ambitious policy of railroad extension, failed to foresee the fact that they were creating competitive agencies more rapidly than they were gaining control over commerce.[36]

To be sure, the fast-departing managers were not unaware of their dilemma. Many recognized their problems only too well, but were helpless to find effective solutions. Buford of the Danville summarized their plight well in 1880:

> This work amidst the extension, completion and reorganization of railroad lines now regarded as essentially necessary for their successful operation, has, by common consent, been found . . . one of the most difficult features of railway management. . . . Experience is daily demonstrating some of the requisites to the only safe policy in this regard, based upon an intelligent recognition of the just rights of each line of road, as well as those of the public, wherever conflicts of interest and competition naturally or circumstantially exist. The best methods of securing these important objects are yet, to a certain extent, experimental.[37]

The men who emerged as southern railroad leaders after 1880 differed markedly from their predecessors. They were of course younger, had virtually no previous personal identification with the company, and gained their business experience during the postwar period. Most of them were financiers with no practical railroad experience. Unhampered by local or regional loyalties, they possessed broader visions and more ambitious schemes. The old territorial concept held neither meaning nor relevance for them. They thought rather in terms of vast systems reaching into every corner of the South and vying for traffic at every important market. Coming to power just at the return of national prosperity, they had no fear of expansion. Indeed their major concern was that growth proceed rapidly

[36] Joseph Nimmo, Jr., *First Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1877), 59.
[37] Annual Report of the Richmond & Danville, 1880, 413.

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enough for them to capture waiting markets. In their hands expansion became both an offensive and defensive weapon.[38]

The most significant aspect of this change in strategic thinking was the rapid growth of interterritorial competition. It constituted the logical alternative to the territorial concept: if a monopolistic territory could not be protected from invaders, then the best hope for increasing business lay in expanding the field of battle. The key to survival appeared to be a diversification of outlets for both through and local traffic. At the local level the old policy of developing local resources along the enlarged lines would provide the company with a reliable base for growth of traffic. Participation in the struggle for through traffic on a larger scale, meanwhile, seemed to offer better opportunities for stabilizing over-all earnings. The new strategy appeared to promise greater flexibility. It would take time for new local traffic to develop sufficiently to turn a profit, and only a system large enough to cover losses in one territory with gains in another seemed able to buy that time.

The renewed expansion spawned by the receiverships of the 1870's furnished the impetus for the development of the major interterritorial systems. With startling speed the parent roads, most of them under new management, increased the mileage under their control. The L & N jumped from 966 miles in 1878 to 3,231 in 1883, the Danville from 448 to 2,503, the East Tennessee from 272 to 1,389, and the Central of Georgia from 861 to 1,754.[39] By 1881 contemporary observers, impressed by the swiftness of southern consolidation, could list seven companies as dominating southern traffic: the Danville; the Savannah, Florida, & Western, nucleus of a system being formed by Henry B. Plant; the East Tennessee; the Norfolk & Western; the Louisville & Nashville; the Central of Georgia; and the Chicago, St. Louis, & New Orleans, the southern subsidiary of the Illinois Central.[40]

The confrontation of major roads wrought by interterritorial expansion also fostered consolidation at a higher level. The clash of rivals over disputed ground often led to a fitting Darwinian climax, with one company absorbing the other. Thus Victor Newcomb, thwarted by the equally ambitious schemes of Edwin "King" Cole of the Nashville, Chattanooga, & St. Louis, proceeded to buy his adversary's company out from under him in

[38] More detail on the new group of managers can be found in my forthcoming article on southern railway leaders.

[39] These figures include lines directly and indirectly controlled and are based upon mileage figures in Poor, *Manual of Railroads* for 1878 and 1883.

[40] *Railroad Gazette,* XIII, 586–87. A similar list in *Railway World,* XXV, 762–63, included the Georgia Pacific, a Danville subsidiary, the Erlanger roads, most of which were acquired by the East Tennessee in 1890, and the Baltimore & Ohio system, which abandoned its southern efforts by selling the Virginia Midland to the Danville in 1881.

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1880.[41] The following year the L & N joined the Central in removing a powerful competitor by leasing the Georgia Railroad.[42] In 1881, too, the Danville shut the Baltimore & Ohio out of the South by purchasing the Virginia Midland.[43] The culmination of this movement came in 1888 when the Richmond Terminal, a holding company, gained control of three major systems: the Danville, East Tennessee, and Central of Georgia.[44]

The desire to penetrate new territories provided the main impetus for the consolidation activities of the 1880's. So too did it spur new construction during the same period.[45] Growing systems generally built new lines for one or more of three reasons: to open new territories or reach new markets; to form new through connections with other systems; and to parallel an existing rival enjoying monopoly status. The Norfolk & Western, though richly endowed with heavy local traffic in coal and other ores, nevertheless embarked upon the construction of additional through routes. It built a new line to the Ohio River, pushed for new western connections with the East Tennessee, and completed the Shenandoah Valley Railroad as a rival route to the Danville's Virginia Midland.[46] The East Tennessee in 1882 finished a line from Rome, Georgia, to Macon that paralleled the Western & Atlantic Railroad and the Central's road between Macon and Atlanta.[47] In one of the most daring projects, the Danville completed the 566-mile Georgia Pacific from Atlanta to Greenville, Mississippi, by 1889.[48] Though the amount and type of construction naturally varied, no system remained aloof lest it lose ground to competitors. The necessity to expand revealed itself clearly in L & N President Eckstein Norton's somewhat contradictory remarks in 1887:

> The policy adopted by your management has been not to make any unnecessary extensions, but to encourage and build up local traffic. At the same time it has been found necessary to extend certain branches and to build new ones in the territory adjacent to your lines. . . .[49]

The strategy of interterritorial competition naturally produced friction and resentment. The Richmond Terminal report for 1887 noted tersely that

[41] Stover, *Southern Railroads*, 225–26.
[42] Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1881, 9–10; Annual Report of the Louisville & Nashville, 1881, 11.
[43] Annual Report of the Richmond & Danville, 1881, 501–502.
[44] Annual Report of the Richmond & West Point Terminal Railway and Warehouse Company, Mar. 23, 1887, *passim*; *Railroad Gazette*, XX, 705.
[45] Specific examples of the consolidation process and figures for the rate of new construction can be found in Stover, *Southern Railroads*, Chap. IX.
[46] Annual Reports of the Norfolk & Western Railroad, 1883–92, *passim*; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXXIX, 87.
[47] *Ibid.*, XXXV, 430.
[48] Annual Report of the Richmond Terminal, 1890, 12; for other examples, see *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXXIX, 86–87.
[49] Annual Report of the Louisville & Nashville, 1887, 20.

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"The Louisville and Nashville Railroad has invaded the territory of the East Tenn., Va. and Ga. during the past year at several important points. They claim the right, without notice, to build into any of its territory," and called for board action to meet the threat.[50] The Western & Atlantic, bitter over being paralleled by the East Tennessee, refused for a time to handle the latter company's freight.[51] The scope of interterritorial rivalries led to renewed efforts at cooperation. As in the previous period, alliances rose and flourished at least for a time. The East Tennessee formed a new pact with the Norfolk & Western, opened a cooperative fast freight line with the Danville, and closed a mutual nonaggression treaty with the L & N.[52] Perhaps the most ambitious effort involved the formation of the Associated Railways of Virginia and the Carolinas in 1885. Composed of the roads controlled by the Danville, the Atlantic Coast Line, and the Seaboard Air Line, the association reached agreement on joint management of all traffic, harmonizing of competition, no independent soliciting for traffic, common auditors to examine all accounts, mutual aid and protection when attacked by other lines, interchange of traffic wherever possible, establishment of an arbitration board to settle disputes, and specific arrangements for apportioning traffic.[53]

The basic tactics of cooperation, construction, and consolidation, utilized by the earlier managers, continued to serve their successors. The difference lay in the scale of operations and in the desired goals. The first resulted from the shift in strategic thinking from territorial monopoly to interterritorial supremacy. The second concerned, among other things, a change in attitude toward sources of profit. The financier-managers who created the large systems derived little personal return from operations. Their profits came instead from such varied sources as construction of the new lines, speculation in the securities associated with the company, transactions involved in the acquisition of other lines (in which they often held personal interests), and such external investments influenced by the railroad as real estate, mineral lands, express business, manufacturing, and industrial development.[54]

Because the financiers tended to think in short-term rather than long-term profits, they evinced little concern for the swollen capitalization pro-

[50] Annual Report of the Richmond Terminal, 1887, 7.

[51] *Railroad Gazette,* XVII, 96.

[52] Annual Report of the East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia, 1888, 22–26; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XXXIII, 357; *Railway World,* XXV, 980; *Railroad Gazette,* XIII, 577.

[53] A copy of the agreement dated August 1, 1885, can be found at the Bureau of Railroad Economics; for other alliances, see *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XLV, 853; XLVI, 828; *Railroad Gazette,* XV, 677; *Railway World,* XXVII, 1072.

[54] For one example, by no means unique, see the account of the Richmond Terminal in Stuart Daggett, *Railroad Reorganization* (Cambridge, Mass., 1908), Chap. v.

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duced by their policies. The financial effect of interterritorial strategy was to burden every system with considerably enlarged fixed costs that required additional earnings to service. During the 1880's, when general prosperity seemed to bless every enterprise, a constant expansion of business seemed almost inevitable. The centralization born of consolidation, moreover, promised reduced administrative costs and increased operational efficiency. Many companies had, in fact, rationalized the creation of large systems in terms of maximizing efficiency. Alfred Sully of the Richmond Terminal expressed feelings common to most of his peers when he declared:

> The underlying principle which actuated the Board . . . in bringing into your ownership this extensive system has been the belief that the consolidation of the control of these roads must result in great economies, in less competition, and also enable the roads . . . to devote their attention to furnishing better facilities for the public. . . .[55]

By the end of the decade, however, serious flaws in the interterritorial strategy began to appear. The assumption of expanding business proved correct, but steadily declining rates prevented earnings from increasing in like proportion. Nor did the tactic of absorbing rival roads entirely reduce competition. The large systems expected to contend with each other, especially for through traffic, but they faced additional rivalry for local business. Besides its positive effect upon interterritorial expansion, the prosperity of the 1880's stimulated construction of smaller local lines as well. As a result the giants confronted an invasion of gnats, each capable of making severe inroads into local traffic. In 1889 the Central of Georgia bemoaned the opening of six new competing roads, and other companies echoed the complaint of the Mobile & Ohio that "Within the last few years competing lines have been built into the territory formerly solely tributary to the Mobile & Ohio."[56] The attempt to stifle or at least centralize competition had failed, and the policy of penetrating every available territory had created new weaknesses as well as new markets. The Central's president, E. P. Alexander, summarized the difficulties common to virtually all southern roads:

> These four years have witnessed an unprecedented activity in railroad building in the territory served by this Company, its own prosperity being often the stimulus of other roads built to attract its business over shorter routes, or to other ports and lines. Under these circumstances this Company has been forced to occupy and develop the territory tributary to it, for itself and to control its own feeders. . . . As the . . . new roads built and acquired . . . are all of them branches

[55] Annual Report of the Richmond Terminal, 1890, 4.

[56] Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1888, 20; 1889, 8; 1892, 3; Annual Report of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, 1888, 14.

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and extensions into new territory, and necessarily enjoy much less business than our trunk lines and other established branches, it is naturally to be expected that the consolidated earnings of the system per mile would be diminished. . . .[57]

The pursuit of interterritorial strategy led nearly all southern roads into grave financial difficulties. Many of them toppled into receivership after 1893, but the old strategy did not die easily. The problems that had called it into existence still remained unsolved, and the decade of the 1890's witnessed further consolidation and construction.[58] An 1893 journal report predicting control of the South by only two systems proved exaggerated in degree but not in kind.[59] The change in strategic thinking that evolved around 1880 ensured that, for better or worse, southern railroads would proceed steadily down a course of further concentration and amalgamation.

A consideration of southern railway strategy, as outlined above, suggests some possible answers to a question of long standing. It was a notorious fact that southern railroads were poor investments during the postwar period. The dividend rate ranked well below the national average, and the number of paying roads remained small even during the prosperous years of the 1880's.[60] Why then did expansion continue to accelerate, and why did new capital continue to flow into southern roads?

Expansion continued because railway managers perceived it as a necessity for survival. Even in the 1880's it remained a largely defensive policy. Official optimism naturally predicted that it would ultimately prove profitable, but of course the end result could not be foreseen. The crucial point in the decision-making process was that it had to be done to protect the road's future, and that without it the company would die of atrophy. The change in strategic thinking after 1880 involved not so much a shift from defensive to offensive thinking as a greater willingness to incur the risks of expansion on a greater scale.

Capital continued to move into southern rail ventures because the financiers mobilizing it, as this article suggests, found sources of profit outside rail operations.[61] Lucrative returns from the manipulation of securities, consolidation transactions, and related investments all helped stim-

[57] Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1889, 9; 1891, 13.

[58] Developments during the period 1890–1900 are treated in Stover, *Southern Railroads,* Chap. XII.

[59] *New York Indicator,* June 7, 1893.

[60] Stover, *Southern Railroads,* 188–89, analyzes dividend data. He notes that expansion proceeded at a record pace despite an "indifferent dividend record," but offers no explanation for it.

[61] Another explanation might be found in comparative bond yields between southern and other roads, but considerable research needs to be done to establish any clear-cut relationship on this point.

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ulate expansion even though earnings performances did not seem to justify the price being paid. The fruit of this activity was the rapid development of a rail network unwelcome to some of its creators, unplanned in any over-all sense, but ultimately enduring.

To be sure, this constitutes only a partial answer to the question of continued investment in southern railroads. But understanding of entrepreneurial strategy and its consequent behavior patterns opens a crucial avenue of further research. The course of American industrial development in the late nineteenth century has become a familiar story; the process by which it occurred remains imperfectly understood and controversial. The work of Albert Fishlow has provided a comprehensive approach to the question of allocation of resources in terms of social return.[62] In taking the "outside" view, however, he made no attempt to deal with the "inside" perspective: the effect of entrepreneurial motivations. A full grasp of the historical process requires a synthesis of the two perspectives. Only when both receive consideration and are balanced properly will the process of economic development become clear.

[62] Albert Fishlow, *American Railroads and the Transformation of the American Economy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). Though dealing with a different time period, Fishlow's study suggests a valuable approach to the problem of social return in the postwar era.

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The Unification of Germany in East German Perspective

ANDREAS DORPALEN*

EXCEPT for some of its factual contributions East German historiography has received little attention in the West. Yet during the twenty years since it came into being it has produced a considerable body of studies dealing with the major aspects of German history. This may be an appropriate time, then, to examine one of these analyses, which explores German historical developments from a Marxist-Leninist perspective. Bismarck's unification of Germany, as viewed in this ideological framework, offers an interesting test case.

A brief summary of the historical background may be helpful. The events leading to unification were sparked by the successes of the Italian national movement in the wake of the Austro-Italian War of 1859. Inspired by Italian developments, the demand for the unification of Germany again became more pressing. It was hoped that popular pressures could help bring about a unified Germany, and organizations such as the *Deutsche Nationalverein* were founded to further the national movement. The question of whether such a unified Germany would include German Austria was still open, but Prussian liberals felt that a liberalized Prussia had the best chance of unifying Germany (without Austria) under its leadership. Prince Regent William of Prussia, later King William I, had introduced a few minor reforms when he succeeded his brother, King Frederick William IV, in 1858; these changes seemed to justify the hope that Prussia was on its way to a more liberal regime and might be able to unify Germany under liberal auspices.

This turned out to be a mistaken assumption. William was deeply conservative and firmly believed in authoritarian government. In 1860 a bitter dispute broke out between him and the Prussian House of Delegates over the reorganization of the Prussian Army. The liberal majority of the House disapproved of several of the proposed reforms; after some temporary com-

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promises they refused to appropriate any further funds for the army. In the end William appointed Bismarck head of the government; the latter collected the needed taxes and authorized the required expenditures in defiance of the *Abgeordnetenhaus*. The Prussian liberals (and democrats) continued their opposition, not only because of this open curtailment of their rights, but also because they feared that Bismarck's highhanded ways were destroying all hope of unifying Germany under the guidance of Prussia. Their opposition was limited to nonviolent, parliamentary action. They would not consider any other step partly from an ingrained respect for state and government, which made a revolution unthinkable, and partly from fear of the masses, who would have had to be mobilized if any extraparliamentary opposition were to be effective. At that it seemed a hopeless undertaking, even with the help of the workers, to rise against a government backed by army and police. After the Danish War of 1864, resignation became acquiescence in some business circles; whatever objections these groups had to the policies of the Prussian Minister-President were outweighed by the prevailing economic prosperity, the liberal trade policies of the government, and the possibility that Bismarck might unify Germany in his own way.

Unification did take place in the years 1866–1871, beginning with the Prusso-Austrian War of 1866. After that war, most of the liberal opposition made its peace with Bismarck; the victory over Austria paved the way for the creation of the North German Confederation, and, with the establishment of this new federal state, Bismarck was moving toward the fulfillment of at least the national hopes of the liberals. The peace between the Minister-President and the liberals was sealed by a law retroactively granting Bismarck indemnity for all expenditures incurred since the beginning of the constitutional conflict.

However great the difference between East German and non-Marxist Western historians in their analysis of these developments, both sides agree that the year 1866 was decisive in German history.[1] At this point, however, agreement ends. To the non-Marxist historian the major issue settled by the Prussian victory at Königgrätz was the unification of Germany, excluding Austria, under Prussian auspices; to the Marxist-Leninist the importance of Königgrätz lies in the fact that Prussia's victory led to unification by means of a "revolution from above" rather than a "revolution from below,"

[1] The overriding importance of 1866 has only recently been recognized by German historians. For a long time the events of 1870–1871 culminating in the foundation of the German Empire were considered of much greater significance. The anniversary of the victory at Sedan, not that of Königgrätz, was celebrated as a national holiday (*Sedanstag*) until 1918.

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inspired and carried out by a popular democratic movement.[2] Marxist historians do not question the desirability of Germany's unification; indeed, they feel certain that had unification been achieved by a popular movement it would also have included the German parts of the Austrian Empire. As it was, dynastic and bourgeois-capitalist interests prevented the inclusion of German Austria in a unified Germany.[3] What really mattered therefore was not that unification would be attained, but how it would be accomplished.

East German historians maintain that unification was desirable and in fact imperative because the existing *Kleinstaaterei* was impeding the full development of capitalist production. The German bourgeoisie thus had a vital interest in promoting unification in order to obtain a larger market, rid itself of antiquated bureaucratic and particularist restrictions, and secure the help and protection of a strong German state in the competitive struggle in the world market. This goal could be achieved in two ways: by a popular revolutionary movement directed against the dynasties and their allies in the aristocracy and elsewhere and aiming at an all-German (*gesamtdeutsch*) republic; or by force of arms, resulting in a national state covering approximately the territory of the *Zollverein,* dominated by Prussia, and retaining most of the dynasties. Everything depended on the choice of the bourgeoisie. Would it ally itself with the proletarian masses and prepare the way for a truly democratic unification, or would it come to terms with the ruling dynasties and the landowning aristocracy and help bring about a unification resting on a reactionary, semifeudalistic, and militarist foundation?[4] The latter alternative was chosen.

It is of course entirely possible, and perhaps even likely, that German developments would have run a happier course than they did if the Prussian liberals had not gone over to Bismarck. A non-Marxist historian might indeed criticize them for their rejection of any political collaboration with the workers. As it was, the liberal position remained weak, and liberal indifference toward working-class needs and aspirations virtually forced labor to go its separate political way.[5] On the other hand, an alliance of

[2] Ernst Engelberg, *Deutschland von 1849 bis 1871* ([East] Berlin, 1965), xi–xii; Hans Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke: Antidemokratismus und Militarismus im historisch-politischen Denken grossbourgeoiser Geschichtsideologen* ([East] Berlin, 1965), 15–16.

[3] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 71. Engelberg does not explore the question whether a Greater German unification would have been tolerated by Russia and France. This question is raised, but not pursued by Herbert Schwab, "Von Düppel bis Königgrätz," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft,* XIV (No. 4, 1966), 597. It is discussed, and dismissed, by Rolf Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten in der deutschen Einheitsbewegung: 1863–1866* ([East] Berlin, 1962), 210–11.

[4] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 69–70, 73–74; Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten,* 14–17; see also Karl-Heinz Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung: 1862–1869* ([East] Berlin, 1958), 9–10.

[5] See, e.g., Ernst Schraepler, "Linksliberalismus und Arbeiterschaft in der preussischen Konfliktszeit," in *Forschungen zu Staat und Verfassung: Festgabe für Fritz Hartung,* ed. Rich-

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middle class and labor might, if not in 1866 or 1871, at a more opportune later time have launched Germany on a course more in accordance with the country's social and political needs. At the same time it might also have prevented that growing hostility between labor and upper and middle class that was to rend German society in future years and that became one of the main causes of Germany's subsequent troubles.

It comes as a surprise, however, to see Marxist historians consider an alliance between bourgeoisie and labor a genuine possibility. It is the essence of Marxist theory that classes are the outgrowth of existing modes of production, "independent of man's will," in the words of a celebrated passage in the *Critique of Political Economy*. As such a class, the bourgeoisie was bound to protect and promote the institutions of private property and capitalist enterprise and gravitate toward other social groups that shared this concern, especially if it believed itself threatened, however unjustifiably, by an emerging industrial proletariat. From the Marxist perspective there seemed to be more reason for the bourgeoisie to side with the monarchy and nobility because the dividing line between landowning aristocracy and commercial and industrial bourgeoisie was becoming fluid: after 1848 most agrarians adopted capitalist production methods and began to share some of the economic concerns of the bourgeoisie, while at the same time the number of bourgeois estate owners was also increasing rapidly. By 1859, of the twelve thousand noble estates (*Rittergüter*) in Prussia, 57 per cent were in bourgeois hands.[6] To quote the East German historian Ernst Engelberg, "In the [18]50's and 60's, as a result of the introduction of capitalism into agriculture, there developed in the rural areas that class structure that is characteristic of the capitalist order." He concludes: "The conflict of interests between aristocracy and bourgeoisie was no longer antagonistic, no longer irreconcilable."[7] Under the circumstances it would seem that the bourgeoisie acted in 1866 as it could be expected to act according to Marxist tenets.

East German historians disagree and point out that what was at stake was not the issue of private property, but whether the bourgeoisie was to

ard Dietrich and Gerhard Oestreich ([West] Berlin, 1958), 385–401; Otto Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany: The Period of Unification, 1815–1871* (Princeton, N. J., 1963), 223–24.

[6] Eugene N. Anderson, *The Social and Political Conflict in Prussia: 1858–1864* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1954), 13–14; see also Hans Rosenberg, "Die Demokratisierung der Rittergutsbesitzerklasse," in *Zur Geschichte und Problematik der Demokratie: Festgabe für Hans Herzfeld*, ed. Wilhelm Berges and Carl Hinrichs ([West] Berlin, 1958), 468–69.

[7] Engelberg, *Deutschland*, 57, 70; see also his essay, "Zur Entstehung und historischen Stellung des preussisch-deutschen Bonapartismus," in *Beiträge zum neuen Geschichtsbild: Zum 60. Geburtstag von Alfred Meusel*, ed. Fritz Klein and Joachim Streisand ([East] Berlin, 1956), 236–37.

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assume sole control of the government and thus free capitalist developments of all particularist and feudalistic-bureaucratic fetters or whether it was to submit to the preponderant political powers of monarchy and aristocracy, accepting the inevitable impediments to the expansion of capitalism. The argument seems hardly conclusive since the East Germans themselves show that government and aristocracy shared and catered to the economic concerns of the bourgeoisie, and subsequent experience has of course established that the "revolution from above" did not impede capitalist expansion but, instead, did what it could to further it.[8]

Some East German historians seem aware of the basic inconsistency of this position, and Engelberg himself grants on repeated occasions that the "objective" interests of the bourgeoisie did not call for a democratic mass movement as did the interests of the proletariat, peasantry, intelligentsia, and petty bourgeoisie. In a similar fashion, Siegfried Schmidt, research assistant at the University of Jena, argues, rather tortuously:

> To be sure, the replacement of the old feudalistic-bourgeois conflict by the conflict between capital and labor, evident since the 1850's, had its effect [on liberalism turning reactionary]. But as long as not all restrictions on bourgeois society had been removed, liberal organizations had a chance and to a certain extent were ready to impart new impulses to the bourgeois-national struggle in certain areas.[9]

Rolf Weber, of the University of Leipzig, on the other hand, rejects all possibilities of a voluntary bourgeois participation in a popular mass movement:

> As the economic basis of the *Junkers* became fully capitalist, [their] resistance against the national consequences of the emergence of the bourgeoisie was bound to weaken. As a result, the objective conditions for a firm alliance of the two classes became favorable. For the German bourgeoisie, the revolutionary-democratic, uncompromising road to national unification thus was out of the question.

The only question that remained, Weber adds, was whether the bourgeoisie might have been propelled into a revolutionary direction by a popular movement—a strategy for which Engels called at the time. Weber shows in a series of comprehensive analyses that conditions were not ripe for the emergence of a mass movement of sufficient strength, and, in so doing, he

[8] Engelberg, *Deutschland*, 69–71; Schwab, "Von Düppel," 600; Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten*, 23. Concerning the growing economic liberalism of the German monarchies after 1848, see also Theodore S. Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815–1871* (Princeton, N. J., 1958), 246–55. For the period after 1871, see Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke*, 66; see also *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, published under the auspices of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism at the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity party (8 vols., [East] Berlin, 1966) I, 240, 320.

[9] Engelberg, *Deutschland*, 73–74, 151–52; Siegfried Schmidt, "Zur Frühgeschichte der bürgerlichen Parteien in Deutschland," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, XIII (No. 6, 1965), 990.

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can also invoke the authority of Lenin who had characterized the 1850's and 1860's as a period "in which the revolutionary aspirations of bourgeois democracy [in Europe] were nearly dead [and] the revolutionary aspirations of the socialist proletariat had not yet matured."[10]

Aside from these objections, there arises the question of whether the bourgeoisie could have attained sole power (*Alleinherrschaft*) in any real sense, as the East German historians maintain, had it joined forces with the proletariat. This alliance, too, could only have been secured at a price: the initiation of social reforms and the granting of universal suffrage, freedom of press, assembly, and party organization. This, as the bourgeoisie saw it, might have led to more serious limitations on its class interests than any restrictions imposed by monarchy and aristocracy.[11] Its fears accorded with Marxist expectations that the proletariat had a much better chance to assert itself politically under a liberal bourgeois regime than under a semifeudal monarchical absolutism. Engels had indeed argued that a "timid" bourgeoisie could get along without universal suffrage and freedom of press, assembly, and organization, but that the workers could not hope to secure their emancipation without these rights and therefore ought to support the bourgeoisie in its struggle against all reactionary elements. "Every victory of the bourgeoisie over [the forces of] reaction is in a way also a victory of the workers, contributes to the ultimate collapse of capitalist domination, brings closer the moment when the workers are going to win out over the bourgeoisie." Should the bourgeoisie not take up the fight against the old order, Engels concluded, the workers would have to compel it against its own will to fight for its principles or, if necessary, leave it to its fate.[12] Again, it would seem that a Marxist historian cannot consider a voluntary alliance of bourgeoisie and working class a genuine possibility within the social and economic context of the Prussia and Germany of the 1860's—the less so since, according to the East German *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung,* "in the fifties . . . the conflict of interests between working class and bourgeoisie became ever more apparent."[13] Indeed, he

[10] Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten,* 21, 23, 110, 277–83, *et passim;* see also Schwab, "Von Düppel," 592–93. The *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* seems to agree with Engelberg who was one of the collaborators on this work. (See *ibid.,* I, 200–204, 300–301.)

[11] Schraepler, "Linksliberalismus," 398; Ludwig Dehio, "Die Taktik der Opposition während der Konfliktsszeit," *Historische Zeitschrift,* CXL (1929), 295–96; Heinrich von Sybel to Hermann Baumgarten, May 9, 1863, in *Deutscher Liberalismus im Zeitalter Bismarcks,* ed. Julius Heyderhoff and Paul Wentzke (2 vols., Bonn, 1925), I, 150; Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten,* 23.

[12] *Ibid.,* 19, 275; Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 73–74. Engels' argument is developed in *Die preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (Hamburg, 1865), and summed up in Hans Rosenberg, *Die nationalpolitische Publizistik Deutschlands* (2 vols., Munich, 1935), II, 877–78.

[13] *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung,* I, 200.

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ought again to conclude that in refusing to join forces with the masses the bourgeoisie simply acted out the role forecast for it by the theory of the class struggle. Engelberg maintains, nonetheless, that Engels rightly took the bourgeoisie to task in 1865 for rejecting "without any reason whatsoever" an alliance with the proletariat.[14]

In this connection another question arises. Assuming that an alliance between bourgeoisie and working class had been concluded, could it have brought about a change in the political situation? Or again, pursuing the other alternative, was the working class strong enough to force the bourgeoisie to take up the fight against the existing regime? The urban working class was still very weak numerically: in Prussia, of a population of 17,000,000, only 770,000 were factoryworkers in 1863, to whom might perhaps be added 1,000,000 workers employed in small craft shops.[15] And while labor began to manifest greater political interest in 1862, after the organization of the Progressive party in Prussia, this interest remained limited to a comparatively small circle.

The East German historians are aware of this fact, just as Marx and Engels had been in their day. In fact, with the French Revolution of 1789–1794 as his model, Engels had warned at the time that "as long as the rural proletariat is not drawn into the movement, the urban proletariat will not be able to achieve anything in Germany."[16] Following their mentors, the East Germans agree that the urban working class could have become a political factor of decisive importance only in an alliance with peasants, craftsmen, storekeepers, and other petty bourgeois elements.[17] (If Marxist historians are highly critical of Ferdinand Lassalle, who founded a separate political working-class organization in 1863, one of the reasons is that Lassalle sought to align his *Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein* with the semifeudal Prussian monarchy against the bourgeoisie rather than to gather all democratic forces into a united oppositional movement. Had he done so, the argument runs, he might have created a national popular movement strong enough to compel the bourgeoisie to continue its struggle for power. As it was, Lassalle and his successors were simply traitors or agents of Bismarck; rather than launch a powerful working-class movement, they founded an ineffective "sect.")[18]

[14] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 118. Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke,* 80, on the other hand, is more consistent when he argues that the historians Sybel and Heinrich von Treitschke acted in conformity with their class interests in supporting the "revolution from above."

[15] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 57–58, 73; statistics in *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung,* June 8, 1863, quoted in Schraepler, "Linksliberalismus," 388, n. 6.

[16] Engels, quoted in Rosenberg, *Nationalpolitische Publizistik,* II, 878.

[17] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 73, 145; Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel,* 30.

[18] *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung,* I, 209–14; Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 142–47; *id.,* "Bonapartismus," 245; Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel,* 23–32, 39–40,

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Yet, was it possible for the urban workers to unite with their rural counterparts in any joint action? Of the authors cited here, Engelberg dispenses with all factual substantiation and merely refers in general terms to Marx, while Karl-Heinz Leidigkeit contents himself with a quotation from Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* in support of his argument. In the *Eighteenth Brumaire* Marx had indeed written that restive French peasants in 1850–1851 were finding their natural allies and leaders in the urban proletariat, but this does not tell us anything about the German situation in the 1860's.[19] It can be negatively stated that, of the labor leaders who opposed Bismarck's policies, none made an attempt to approach the peasantry; they presumably considered this a hopeless undertaking. As Franz Mehring put it, "no dawn of political understanding" was as yet enlightening Prussia's rural population.[20] This is also borne out by the investigations of Eugene Anderson and, what is more important in this context, by the analyses of the East German historian Rolf Weber. Weber considers it a basic weakness of the democratic movement that it seemed to offer little to the peasants. By the 1860's the peasants had been relieved of all prior manorial claims of the nobility. Many still had to pay annual redemption dues to their onetime landlords, but they considered this a less onerous burden. Nor did the problems that remained in all rural areas—lack of land, political oppression, social misery—create any activist discontent. (Weber feels, however, that the democratic leaders neglected the problems of the peasantry and the rural proletariat, and he criticizes them for not having attempted to arouse these groups by appealing to their material interests.) The democrats faced an equally difficult task in regard to the petty bourgeoisie; while the latter had a stake in democratic self-government, it was economically dependent on the bourgeoisie, its general political

86–87, 93, 109–10; see also Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels: Eine Biographie* (2 vols., The Hague, 1934), II, 122, 140–41. In attacking Johann Baptist von Schweitzer, Lassalle's successor as head of the *Arbeiterverein,* as corrupt, Leidigkeit refers to archival findings of Mayer, but disregards the fact that Mayer expressly rejects the conclusion that Schweitzer was a bribed agent of Bismarck. (See *id.,* "Der Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein und die Krisis 1866," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik,* LVII [No. 1, 1927], 167–75, esp. 170, 175.) The article was known to Leidigkeit since he lists it in his bibliography. (*Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel,* 216.)

[19] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 145, 73. In referring to Marx, Engelberg may have had in mind Marx's letter to Engels of April 16, 1856, in which Marx predicates the success of the socialist movement on "covering the rear of the proletarian revolution by a second edition of the Peasants War," without, however, examining the likelihood of such a development. (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence: 1846–1895* [New York, 1934], 87.) The passage from the *Eighteenth Brumaire,* referred to by Leidigkeit in *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel,* 30, can be found in Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (New York, 1926), 137.

[20] See the description of Liebknecht's agitational activities in Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel,* 104; for Bebel's activities, see August Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben* ([East] Berlin, 1961), *passim;* and Mehring's statement in Franz Mehring, *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (5th ed., 4 vols., Stuttgart, 1913), III, 234.

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outlook was parochial, and it had no material interest in national unification.[21]

Weighing the chances of a successful democratic mass movement, Weber, as was mentioned before, is more restrained than the majority of the East German historians. Most of them maintain that in 1865–1866 Germany was approaching a revolutionary crisis, and they like to quote August Bebel, who later became the long-time leader of the Social Democratic party. He recalls in his memoirs that "almost everyone in Germany, except for East Elbia, believed that a victorious revolution was possible."[22] There was indeed considerable unrest in Germany in 1865; organizational activities of both workers and petty bourgeoisie increased; economic discontent touched off a growing number of strikes; political protests led to clashes with the police; and some Prussian reservists called up for military service refused to obey their induction orders.[23]

Bebel and his associates were, however, unrealistic when they believed a nationwide popular rising could be organized to force democratic unification on Germany, if war broke out over the unification issue between Prussia and the other German states. Popular strength, organization, and weapons were lacking to carry out any such plan. "As a matter of fact," writes Weber on the basis of his analyses, "as conditions were at the time, any attempt at a popular rising would have been a hopeless *Putsch* which would have been crushed within a few hours."[24] Nor was there any prospect of an immediate revolution in Prussia. Whatever unrest there was lacked the over-all coordination and mass support to constitute a serious threat to the Prussian state—at least as long as Prussia did not suffer a serious defeat. Indeed, most contemporary observers who predicted a violent upheaval in

[21] Anderson, *Social and Political Conflict,* 291–92, 297, 435–37; Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten,* 21, 281–82, 110, 279. Weber makes the point (pp. 282–83) that in countries in which the agrarian question is no longer of fundamental importance, "it is objectively more difficult for the masses to recognize that class interests are at stake in the way [in which a country achieves] its national unification whereas in countries in which the bourgeois revolution centers around the agrarian question class fronts are clearly visible for everyone." The unification of Germany thus was considered largely a political question that did not directly affect the material interests of the individual citizen. "In fact, to many circles, especially in Prussia, unification from above seemed to be an enormous advance in the solution of the national question, which it was actually only to a very limited extent." Concerning the attitude of the petty bourgeoisie, see also the comments of Schwab, "Von Düppel," 606–607.

[22] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 151, 153; Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel,* 93; Bebel's statement, *ibid.,* 81. Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke,* 73, contends that "if Sybel declared that the opposition had no material power, this was *Realpolitik* only if one closed his eyes to the 'elementary force of the masses.' "

[23] Leidigkeit, *Liebknecht und Bebel,* 67–70, 74–82, 95–105; Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 166–70, 177–179; Schwab, "Von Düppel," 601. A highly informative survey of Prussian unrest can be found in a recent West German essay on the crisis of 1866, Karl Heinrich Höfele, "Königgrätz und die Deutschen von 1866," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht,* XVI (No. 7, 1966), 400–402.

[24] Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten,* 269. For a recent liberal analysis, see Hedwig Wachenheim, *Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung 1844–1914* (Cologne, 1967), 100.

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Prussia expected revolution only in case of a major military defeat.[25] Protest demonstrations were easily broken up, and insubordinate reservists were quickly subdued. Nor were the discipline and striking power of the Prussian Army impaired, as the victory at Königgrätz demonstrated. Weber, assessing conditions in Prussia, speaks of a "potentially explosive situation," which, however, "could become a serious political factor only after a defeat of the army." Thus it is incorrect to conclude, as Engelberg does, that, "Despite great revolutionary potentialities which became manifest among the German people in the 1860's, the leading elements of the revolution from below, that is, petty bourgeois democracy and the various workers organizations, proved unequal to the situation."[26]

Prussia's victory touched off what is uniformly called a "revolution from above" in East German historiography. To be sure, non-Marxist historians have also applied this term to the events of 1866, but they have seen its revolutionary aspects in the destruction of the loose German Confederation, the creation of the more tightly organized North German Confederation, and the overthrow of some of the sovereign rulers—in Hanover, Hesse, and Nassau. To the Marxist historian the revolutionary results of Prussia's victory extended far beyond this blow at monarchist legitimacy and state sovereignty: they effected the transformation of the Prusso-German "feudalist-bureaucratic" monarchy into a "bourgeois-capitalist" monarchy. This new monarchy rested on a dictatorship described as "Bonapartist" since, like its French counterpart, it was based on the support of the army and playing off against each other hostile social claims and forces while it was essentially bourgeois in its perspective. (In describing a "Bonapartist" regime as basically bourgeois in outlook, as does Engelberg in accord with Engels, he again demonstrates that the bourgeoisie was not acting against its "class" interests in supporting Bismarck.)[27]

The new regime, the East Germans concede, contained some progressive features. By unifying northern and central Germany in the North German Confederation it took an important step toward national union. It also laid the foundation for the expansion of capitalist production by giving the new parliament considerable authority in the area of economic legislation. And although, in the Marxist view, Bismarck's "Bonapartist" regime was the most unfavorable form that a bourgeois revolution could assume for the working class, democracy scored one significant victory. The liberals did

[25] Sybel to Baumgarten, June 4, 1866, in *Deutscher Liberalismus*, ed. Heyderhoff and Wentzke, I, 303; Franz Ziegler to Karl Rodbertus, June 9, 16, 1866, in Ludwig Dehio, "Die preussische Demokratie und der Krieg von 1866," *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte*, XXXIX (1927), 253, 255; Dehio, "Taktik," 320–21.

[26] Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten*, 256; Engelberg, "Bonapartismus," 246.

[27] *Ibid.*, 238–39; see also *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, I, 319–20.

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not content themselves with being granted universal manhood suffrage; they also succeeded in securing secrecy of the ballot. With the help of universal, equal, and secret suffrage the laboring classes could be rallied in the struggle against Bismarck's dictatorship, and the *Reichstag* elections offered opportunities to perfect their organization and publicize their demands.[28]

The process, inaugurated in 1866, of transforming the Prussian "feudalist" monarchy into a "bourgeois" one continued during the following years. East German historians are especially interested in the measures taken to free business activities of many of the remaining restrictions and allow the full development of capitalist production. They acknowledge the streamlining of the *Zollverein,* the steps taken to further the economic unification of Germany, the inauguration of legal reforms. Yet the completion of Germany's unification in 1871, they note, was again effected by governmental rather than popular action. Whatever economic progress the German Empire achieved, Bismarck's Bonapartist dictatorship on behalf of *Junkers* and bourgeoisie was entrenched more firmly than ever; there remained a princely particularism that impeded the growth of centralized institutions and full unity, and, above all, Prusso-German militarism that came to pervade all aspects of German life also remained. The realization of democracy, on the other hand, had now to wait for a distant future.[29]

If East German historiography is as much a discussion of what might or ought to have happened as of what actually did occur, it merely performs the task that Marxism sets the historian. Marxist historiography, it should be kept in mind, is not satisfied with the detached examination of the past. Marx warned that this contemplative approach encouraged acquiescence in the world as it was, and to this conservatism he was wholly opposed. To him history was the story of man's unfolding potentialities, or, put differently, it was the record of man's efforts to meet his needs more effectively: "History is nothing but the activity of man in pursuit of his ends." In these efforts, Marxist historiography teaches, man is following the laws of historical and dialectical materialism, and, guided by them, he will achieve ever higher modes of production. With the attainment of socialism man will gain full, conscious control of the means of production and put them purposefully and systematically at his service. Thus the

[28] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 185, 186–89, 194–95; Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke,* 66–67; Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel,* 111–12. It was not, ironically, democratic pressure but the antidemocratic National Liberals who demanded the secret ballot in order to forestall any governmental abuses of open voting. (See Otto Becker, *Bismarcks Ringen um Deutschlands Gestaltung* [Heidelberg, 1958], 437.)

[29] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 198, 240, 242–44; Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten,* 273.

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working class, striving toward the attainment of socialism which would eliminate economic scarcity, class struggles, and war, is waging its fight not just for its own sake but on behalf of all mankind; its victory will usher in true freedom, justice, and peace. Once this process of history is understood, history, in the Marxist view, can serve as a guide both to the past and the future.[30]

In accordance with this view, East German historians consider it their task to demonstrate that this historical process is operative in Germany too. In the context of the specific German situation they especially seek to show that their country can be diverted from aggression and militarism and can be reunited peacefully and democratically under the Marxist-Leninist banner. As Alfred Meusel, the late social historian, has written:

> The *thema probadum* of German historical research and teaching must be the struggle for German unification. We have to show that at all turning points of German history—at the time of the Reformation and the great Peasants' War, at the time of the Wars of Liberation, in the Revolution of '48, in the November Revolution of 1918 and during the following years and again now, after [our] liberation from fascism by the Soviet Army, there existed serious democratic forces which fought for a united Germany in the form of a peace-loving, democratic and sovereign national state.[31]

The prevalent East German interpretation of the events of 1866 is meant to bear out this claim and to demonstrate that Bismarck's unification of Germany was not the only possible one and that the "objective" conditions for a democratic unification by a popular movement existed. If it did not materialize, this was because of such "subjective," human and hence avoidable, factors as the selfishness of the bourgeoisie, the inadequacy of the labor leaders, the treachery of Lassalle, the parochial ways of the petty bourgeoisie, and the apathy of the peasants. As it was, in the East German view, Marx and Engels, who had pointed out the correct way to peace and democracy, had been ignored, and militarism and chauvinism had triumphed.[32]

This tragedy, the East German interpretation maintains, continued to be re-enacted during the following decades. The bourgeoisie, dominated by

[30] See Ernst Engelberg, "Politik und Geschichtswissenschaft in der DDR," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft,* VI (No. 3, 1958), 468–81; see also *Einführung in das Studium der Geschichte,* ed. Walther Eckermann and Hubert Mohr ([East] Berlin, 1966), 30–31, 42–43.

[31] Alfred Meusel, "Die wissenschaftliche Auffassung der deutschen Geschichte," *Wissenschaftliche Annalen,* I (No. 7, 1952), 405; see also Ernst Diehl, "Die Aufgaben der Parteihistoriker bei der Erfüllung des Siebenjahrplanes," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung,* II (No. 1, 1960), 3–22; and Marion Einhorn and Heinz Habedank, "Das Programm des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Historiker in der DDR," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft,* XI (No. 2, 1963), 237–60.

[32] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* xii, 73–74, 248; Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel,* 88–94; Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke,* 106 ff.

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"monopoly capitalism," drove the country into the First World War, later became the sponsor and ally of Hitler, and is now the mainstay of Bonn's militarism and "revanchism." And just as Lassalle "went over" to Bismarck, the Social Democrats of the Weimar era supported Field Marshal-President Paul von Hindenburg, thus helping to bring Hitler to power, and their "Right-wing" successors are now the supporters of West German "revanchism." Those who accepted the guidance of Marx and Engels, on the other hand, kept up the fight for peace and democracy. They were gathered in the antirevisionist wing of the Social Democrats before World War I, the Spartacus League of 1918, and the Communist party of Weimar days; they are now carrying on their struggle for the democratic, nonmilitarist reunification of Germany in the Socialist Unity party in East Germany and in the West German Communist party, which is fighting illegally in the Bonn Republic.[33]

It is in this contemporary political context that the East German interpretations of 1866—the probing for revolutionary potentialities and the responsibility for their failure—must be understood. The East German historian is expected to help the political leadership fulfill its task of determining the "objective laws of historical movements" (*den objektiven Bewegungssinn der Geschichte*) and thus guide society scientifically. "To develop or convey this sense of history," Gerhard Schilfert writes, ". . . is a national task of all historians toward the people of the German Democratic Republic as well as of West Germany."[34]

This attitude has its reverse, of course. In accordance with their view of the social function of the historian, the East Germans consider the work of Western historians, as much as their own, as purposeful political manifestations. They are thus perturbed by the fact that West German historians are no longer as critical of the undemocratic unification of Germany as they had been during the immediate postwar period.[35] In the East German view the argument of the West Germans that the bourgeoisie acted realistically in bowing to Bismarck is inspired by "practical-political" tasks that

[33] Hans Jürgen Friederici, "Zur Einschätzung Lassalles und des Lassalleanismus in der bürgerlichen und rechtssozialdemokratischen Geschichtsschreibung," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, II (No. 2, 1960), 303–304, 309–10. Friederici adds that it does not matter for what purpose Lassalle approached Bismarck; what does matter are the "objective" content and the effects of his program and tactics. (*Ibid.*, 312.) The argument presumably applies also to the Social Democrats of the Weimar and Bonn Republics.

[34] Gerhard Schilfert, "Die Geschichtswissenschaft im System der Gesellschaftswissenschaften," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, XII (No. 4, 1965), 581–82; see also the address of the *Rektor* of the University of Jena, in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, XIV (No. 2, 1965), 173–74.

[35] Schwab, "Von Düppel," 589–90, with a number of quotations. Schwab is, however, rather careless in the use of sources. Of the "democratic" historians he misunderstands Wilhelm Schüssler and classifies Friedrich C. Sell and Hans Kohn as West Germans; of the "undemocratic" historians he misquotes Walter Bussmann.

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West German historiography has set itself in serving as the ideological tool for the revival of German imperialism and militarism.[36] One need not agree with these charges to realize that the non-Marxist approach to history does contain its own pitfalls. If the demands on history as a guide to action cause the East German historian to overweight the historical evidence, the Western historian in his attempt to find out *wie es eigentlich gewesen* is faced with the danger, as Marx had warned, of accepting the world as it is.[37] The warning that the detached factual approach to historical evidence may turn the historian into an uncritical defender, if only an unwitting one, of what has occurred ought not to be taken lightly.[38] In a similar way, if East German historiography has contributed few new insights to our understanding of the events leading to Germany's unification, it has, on the other hand, helped direct the attention of the historian to the world of the German worker and petty bourgeois—a world so long neglected in German historiography except for the work of Gustav Mayer and an occasional excursion by a few others. Indeed, the new Western interest in German labor history as attested by the significant number of works published in recent years in this field may well have derived some of its stimulation from these East German endeavors.

The present analysis has been limited to those attitudes and developments pertaining to the unification of Germany that East German historians consider significant from their Marxist perspective. Within this frame of reference many other aspects of the unification movement had to be ignored. Thus, while socioeconomic considerations helped to mold the attitude of the middle class, it ought to be added that a traditional respect for state and authority and a deep-seated aversion to any disturbance of law and order also played an important role in determining bourgeois

[36] See Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke*, 281, and Ernst Hoffmann, "Zur Entwicklung und Rolle der westdeutschen Geschichtsschreibung," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, VII (No. 8, 1960), 1811–31.

[37] Engelberg, "Politik und Geschichtsschreibung," 478–79.

[38] It is noteworthy, for example, that leading West German historians like Theodor Schieder and Werner Conze accept without reservation Hermann Baumgarten's famous critique of German liberalism, *Der deutsche Liberalismus: Eine Selbstkritik* (first published in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, XVIII [Nov.–Dec. 1866], 455 ff., 575 ff., and reprinted in Baumgarten's *Historische und politische Aufsätze*, ed. Erich Marcks [Strasbourg, 1894], 76 ff.); see Theodor Schieder, in Bruno Gebhardt, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte* (4 vols., Stuttgart, 1954–60), III, 176; Werner Conze, "Die Ermöglichung des Nationalstaates," in *Entscheidung 1866: Der Krieg zwischen Österreich und Preussen*, ed. Wolfgang von Groote and Ursula von Gersdorff (Stuttgart, 1966), 205–208. One may accept as realistic the change of attitude of the bourgeoisie and yet doubt the wisdom of the abject self-abasement with which this change was carried out. For a more detailed discussion of this question, see Andreas Dorpalen, *Heinrich von Treitschke* (New Haven, Conn., 1957), 114–16; see also the contemporary criticism in a letter of Wilhelm Beseler to Baumgarten, Dec. 20, 1866, in *Deutscher Liberalismus*, ed. Heyderhoff and Wentzke, I, 360.

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attitudes. Feelings of social and political inadequacy and a widespread indifference to the issues of the Prussian constitutional conflict also did so. (At no time did more than one-half of the bourgeois electorate participate in the Prussian elections during that conflict.) Again, if the question of national unity had social and economic implications, it was just as much and perhaps more a political and psychological issue independent of all material considerations. To countless Germans the unification of Germany was, above all, a matter of pride and national dignity, even of moral justice.[39] These emotional reactions perhaps more than any other factors help to account for the large-scale surrender of the liberals to Bismarck in 1866 when the defeat of Austria opened the road to Germany's unification. Of this, hardly anything is mentioned in the East German discussions since such attitudes are not considered intrinsically significant, but rather are viewed as a failure to perceive the sociopolitical implications of the manner of unification. These limitations prevent Marxist investigations from recapturing historic reality as it was, *wie es eigentlich gewesen*. One cannot fit life, and history, into so selective a pattern.[40]

[39] For a more detailed discussion of this attitude and its implications, see Dorpalen, *Treitschke*, 57–60, 111–12, 114–15.

[40] On recent objections of Soviet historians to these limitations, see Arthur P. Mendel, "Current Soviet Theory of History: New Trends or Old?" *American Historical Review*, LXXII (Oct. 1966), 50–73.

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★ ★ ★ *Notes and Suggestions* ★ ★ ★

The Jefferson-Adams Rupture and the First French Translation of John Adams' *Defence*

JOYCE APPLEBY*

WHEN Thomas Jefferson received his presentation copy of *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* from John Adams, his first impulse was to arrange for a French translation. With characteristic thoroughness he lined up a translator, lent him his copy, found a Paris publisher, and wrote his friend and fellow diplomat in London describing what he had done. This was in February 1787, just weeks after the English publication of Adams' first volume. But, despite the dispatch with which Jefferson handled these details, no French edition appeared that year. Nor was a French translation of the *Defence* published until five years later, long after Jefferson and Adams had returned from their European missions, and the attrition of domestic politics had begun working its way through the bonds of their once warm friendship.

Quite understandably historians have neglected so minor an item as whether or not the French *Défense des constitutions américaines* of 1792 bears any relation to the translation originally planned by Jefferson. Supplying an answer may be reckless, in the face of Allan Nevins' caveat about researching questions no one is ever likely to ask. But, if there is a possibility that the translation Jefferson initiated was suppressed and that Jefferson connived at its suppression, then the evidence is worth attention.

The story of the first proposed French translation of the *Defence* begins with Jefferson's letter to Adams of February 23, 1787. "On the first news of this work," Jefferson wrote, "there were proposals to translate it. Fearing it might be murdered in that operation, I endeavored to secure a good translator. This is done, and I lend him my copy to translate from." Adams replied that Jefferson had laid him "under great obligation by taking the trouble to Secure a Good Translator."[1] The publisher with whom Jefferson

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[1] Adams to Jefferson, Mar. 1, 1787, in *The Adams-Jefferson Letters*, ed. Lester J. Cappon (2 vols., Chapel Hill, N. C., 1959), I, 174–77.

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had made arrangements was Jacques François Froullé. Froullé, a licensed bookseller, was also a printer, having been apprenticed at one time to the distinguished Augustin Martin Lottin who had taught Louis XVI the art of printing.[2] It seems Froullé printed books privately, which is to say clandestinely, and sold them publicly in his store. Since there was a general ban in France on foreign political writings, a publisher like Froullé was a necessary resort, and this practice was more or less accepted by the government, for Froullé's books carried with their false publication places a line that said "et se trouve à Paris, Chez Froullé, libraire."

At this time, Froullé was bringing out the four-volume *Recherches historiques et politiques sur les États-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale* by Philip Mazzei, and Mazzei, too, wrote Adams about the French translation of his *Defence*. In June 1787 Adams answered Mazzei's letter, asking if the publisher had as yet published his "avertissement."[3] The following month Jefferson wrote Adams to send "hither the sheets of the sequel as they shall be printed" for the benefit of Froullé. Adams, who was still writing the second and third volumes of the *Defence* while waiting for the permission of Congress to quit London, promised to send them, and he mentioned in subsequent letters having actually dispatched copies to Jefferson in Paris, but Jefferson never again alluded to the projected French translation of the *Defence* in his letters to Adams.[4] In fact, the last word on this French edition of the *Defence* appeared in Mazzei's *Recherches,* which was printed during November and December 1787. Reviewing the latest literature on America, Mazzei cited Adams' *Defence* and reported that the French translation of Adams' "Apologie des constitutions des États-Unis d'Amérique" was already on the press.[5] No "Apologie" was forthcoming, however, and unless Adams and Jefferson discussed the translation when they met briefly in March 1788, it died a quiet death.

There is no reason to connect this projected translation of the *Defence* with one that finally appeared in 1792. The case against such an assumption is very strong. To note the most obvious difficulties: a delay of five of the most eventful years in French history, a different publisher, a different title, and a translator's introduction, which specifically explains the publica-

[2] *Catalogue chronologique des libraires et des libraires-imprimeurs de Paris* (2 vols., Paris, 1789), I, 248; II, 67, 116.

[3] Adams to Mazzei, June 12, 1787, in *The Works of John Adams,* ed. Charles Francis Adams (10 vols., Boston, 1850–56), IX, 553. Adams refers here to a letter from Mazzei of May 24, 1787, which is lost.

[4] Adams to Jefferson, Aug. 25, Sept. 16, Oct. 28, 1787, in *Adams-Jefferson Letters,* ed. Cappon, I, 191, 198, 203–204.

[5] [Philip Mazzei,] *Recherches historiques et politiques sur les États-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (4 vols., Colle, 1788), IV, 213–14. The same volume included a French translation of the proposed federal Constitution that did not reach Paris until November 1787.

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tion of Adams' *Defence* in terms of its relevance to the political events of 1792.[6] But why, on the other hand, advance the idea that the first translation was actively suppressed? Why could it not have suffered one of those accidents so common in the hazardous trip from manuscript to market? The reason to doubt, or at least question, such a benign exit for the first French *Defence* is because the group of Frenchmen closest to Jefferson had a strong motive for wanting to suppress Adams' book, and did, in fact, prepare for Froullé's presses a quite different American translation, an elaborately annotated edition of an attack on the *Defence:* John Stevens' *Observations on Government, Including some animadversions on Mr. Adams's Defence . . . and Mr. De Lolmes Constitution of England.* Pierre Samuel Du Pont, Antoine Caritat—better known as Condorcet—and Mazzei were the editors of the French edition of Stevens' pamphlet which appeared in January 1789 as *Examen de gouvernement d'Angleterre comparé aux constitutions des États-Unis* and was incorrectly attributed to William Livingston. These men were good friends of Jefferson, important customers for Froullé, and zealous defenders of a whole constellation of political ideas threatened by Adams' *Defence.* Mazzei apparently received the Stevens pamphlet from James Madison, but the copy used for preparation of *Examen* ended up in Jefferson's library preserving in its marginal notes a record of the French editing.[7]

Adams' *Defence* had taken on strong polemical overtones during the course of 1787. Events in France had changed the innocuous project of publishing a French edition of Adams' work into a heated political issue. Louis XVI, having promised to convoke the Estates-General, had lifted the floodgate on a century of dammed up political energy. No one, Arthur Young wrote in his travel journal for October 1787, believed that the Estates-General could meet "without a revolution in the government en-

[6] John Adams, *Défense des constitutions américaines: Ou de la nécessité d'une balance dans les pouvoirs d'un gouvernement libre* (2 vols., Paris, 1792), I, i. Zoltan Haraszti (*John Adams and the Prophets of Progress* [New York, 1964], 332, n. 23) and Cappon (*Adams-Jefferson Letters,* I, 175) err in referring to Jacques Vincent Delacroix as the translator of this edition. He added notes, but the translator who signed himself "L.M." is clearly both a different person and the instigator of the publication. The late Charles A. Rochedieu claimed in his *Bibliography of French Translations of English Works* (Chicago, 1948), 2, that an M. Leriguet translated the *Defence.* A more likely possibility is that "L.M." was L'Abbé Morellet who signed himself that way, translated English writings, and had already defended Adams' ideas in print. There is a special irony in this possibility, for Jefferson had been unhappy with Morellet's translation of his *Notes on the State of Virginia* and probably had this experience in mind when he moved quickly to find a competent translator for Adams' *Defence.* (See Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia,* ed. William Peden [Chapel Hill, N. C., 1955], xviii.)

[7] Jefferson's copy in the Library of Congress has marginal notes in Mazzei's hand and Jefferson's correction of the false attribution to Livingston. Mazzei's letter to Madison, Feb. 7, 1788, in *Philip Mazzei, Friend of Jefferson: His Life and Letters,* ed. Richard Cecil Garlick, Jr. (Baltimore, 1933), 120–21, indicates that Madison sent the pamphlet to Mazzei along with the false attribution.

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suing."[8] This expectation of drastic change in turn promoted an animated, searching, and increasingly partisan investigation of political principles. France was to receive a modern constitution at last, but what kind of a constitution? What new institutions should be created to replace the old? What part of France's many-layered past could be carried successfully into the future, what part effectively excluded? The debates on these questions focused attention on two possible models for French reconstruction: England and America. Soon two opposing groups of French reformers rallied around these models, and it was in relation to this dispute over goals within France that Adams' *Defence* became an issue.

The Frenchmen who looked to the American model, *américanistes* as they were sometimes called, were the same Frenchmen who earlier had promoted the cause of the American Revolution: Marquis de La Fayette, Comte de Mirabeau, Marquis de Condorcet, Duc de La Rochefoucauld, and Du Pont. Benjamin Franklin had not failed to cultivate such an enlightened and sympathetic circle of Frenchmen, and they in turn became the good friends of Jefferson, Mazzei, and Jefferson's young secretary, William Short. Mazzei, in fact, formed something of a link between these distinguished Frenchmen and his American friends. Being limited by neither a diplomatic capacity nor a sense of discretion, this ebullient Florentine threw himself into French revolutionary politics with as much abandon as he had earlier entered the American cause.[9]

The *américanistes*'s program for France was composed of a not always congruent blend of French disenchantment and American hope. They called for, specifically, the eradication of the special privileges of the aristocracy and the Church, the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, and the formation of a single, popular national assembly to unify and direct the will of modern France. Their program was twofold: to identify their reform goals with the magic of the American name and at the same time to undermine the prestige of the English constitution. Arrayed against them were the *anglomanes,* a group of French leaders equally zealous for reform but considerably more conservative. The *anglomanes* looked north instead of west and found in England's government the better pattern for France. In their effort to popularize English political institutions, the *anglomanes* received immeasurable aid from Jean Louis De Lolme's book *La constitution de l'Angleterre.*[10] In this study, which was enormously popular in

[8] Arthur Young, *Travels in France during the years 1787, 1788 and 1789,* ed. Constantia Maxwell (Cambridge, Eng., 1929), 81.

[9] Philip Mazzei, *Memoirs of the Life and Peregrinations of the Florentine Philip Mazzei,* ed. and tr. Howard R. Marraro (New York, 1942), 278–80.

[10] Jean Louis De Lolme, *La constitution de l'Angleterre* (Amsterdam, 1771). De Lolme was a Genevan expatriate living in London. His first edition in his native French was fol-

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France, De Lolme made a very persuasive case for his conclusion that liberty and justice were best secured through a balanced government of commons, lords, and king, as in England. Adams had made no secret of his debt to De Lolme, as indeed he should not have, and those Frenchmen who had read the *Defence* saw it as an American echo of De Lolme's general thesis that only the careful institutionalizing of existing orders in society could resolve the tension between man and government.[11]

Although a distinguished American historian has reviewed Adams' *Defence* and found it to have been as antiaristocratic in essence as the ideas of the *américanistes*'s idol, A. R. J. Turgot, this was certainly not the opinion of contemporaries on either side of the Atlantic.[12] Adams' underlying theme was that democracy would not work, that elites were inevitable, and that stability demanded that a constitutional place be given them. Far from being a defense of the American state constitutions—"a mock defense," Madison dubbed it—Adams' treatise held up the English constitution as the one defensible form of government.[13] When an abridged French edition finally appeared in 1792, the translator felt it necessary to apologize for Adams' bias toward aristocracy, and Jacques Vincent de la Croix, who furnished notes for this edition, took issue on several occasions with Adams' justification for aristocratic institutions.[14] A French edition of the *Defence* in 1787 would, therefore, have been an exquisite embarrassment to the *américanistes*. Adams was well known to the French public. To have had readily available to French readers Adams' endorsement of De Lolme's ideas at the very time when the *américanistes* were using the American experience as proof of De Lolme's errors would have been a strategic blow.

De Lolme, however, not Adams, remained the principal target of the *américanistes*. When *La constitution de l'Angleterre* became popular in France, Du Pont brushed off a fifteen-year-old critique and persuaded Mirabeau to run it in successive issues of his *Analyse des papiers anglais,*

lowed by four English editions and another French edition (London, 1785), which was the first to circulate widely in France and was followed by five successive editions (Geneva, 1787–91).

[11] John Adams, *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America, Against the Attack of M. Turgot in His Letter to Dr. Price, Dated the twenty-second day of March, 1778* (3 vols., London, 1787), I, 70; see also Adams' notes taken from De Lolme's study on reel 188, *Miscellany, The Microfilms of the Adams Papers* (Boston, 1959).

[12] Robert R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1959–64), I, 267–82.

[13] Madison to Jefferson, May 12, 1791, in *The Writings of James Madison,* ed. Gaillard Hunt (9 vols., New York, 1900–10), VI, 50–51.

[14] Adams, *Défense des constitutions américaines,* I, i, xxii, 532–33, 537–38; II, 466, 468, 470, 472, 476.

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following this up with a separate pamphlet edition.[15] Condorcet, punning on his honorary citizenship in New Haven, wrote his *Quatre lettres d'un bourgeois de New-Heaven* which appeared first in Mazzei's *Recherches* also as a refutation of De Lolme.[16] When Madison sent Mazzei a copy of Stevens' pamphlet inveighing against the political pessimism of both Adams and De Lolme, the *américanistes* had their perfect antidote to the damaging Anglophilia of the *Defence*. Here was a chance to deflate De Lolme's apotheosis of the English constitution and at the same time disassociate Adams from the true, egalitarian spirit of America, and to do it all through the words of a simple, republican philosopher who signed himself "A Farmer of New-Jersey."

Thus, Stevens' *Observations on Government,* ignored at home, became a smashing hit in France. Du Pont, Condorcet, and Mazzei turned the 56-page pamphlet into a 291-page book complete with 174 pages of notes, a translation of the new US Constitution, and notes from the Virginia ratifying convention.[17] They put the name of Livingston on the lips of a score of speakers in the National Assembly, and, if one leading French *anglomane* and two contemporary German observers are to be believed, *Examen du gouvernement d'Angleterre* turned the tide against French sentiment in favor of reform *à la mode anglaise*.[18]

The case for the suppression of the first French translation of Adams' *Defence* (and its connection with the publication of Stevens' pamphlet) rests on an inference from silence, the presence of a very strong motive, the intimate relationships of the principal figures, and the unexplained failure of the much-discussed 1787 translation to materialize. As for Jefferson's conniving at the suppression, it seems highly unlikely that the project

[15] *Analyse des papiers anglais,* Mar. 22, Apr. 1, 1788, and [Pierre Samuel Du Pont,] *Lettre à M. le Comte Charles de Scheffer, 20 août, 1773* (Paris, 1788).

[16] Mazzei, *Recherches,* I. Adams claimed that this had been written as a reply to his *Defence* (Haraszti, *Prophets of Progress,* 236), but Condorcet never mentioned Adams or his ideas and did refer repeatedly to De Lolme and the English constitution.

[17] Much of the story of this edition can be reconstructed from Mazzei's *Memoirs* which are corroborated by a contemporary letter, Mazzei to Stanislas Augustus, Apr. 27, 1789, in *Lettere di Filippo Mazzei alla corte di Polonia,* ed. Raffaele Ciampini (2 vols., Bologna, 1937), I, 121.

[18] Jean Joseph Mounier, *Considérations sur les gouvernements, et principalement sur celui quie convient à la France* (Paris, 1789), 37; Ernest Brandes, *Considérations politiques sur la Révolution française* (Paris, 1791), 80–88; and August W. Rehberg, *Untersuchungen über die französische Revolution* (2 vols., Hanover, 1793), II, 55–65. See also Abbé André Morellet's review in *Mercure de France,* July 24, Aug. 1, 1789; see also the debate in the National Assembly, Aug. 31–Sept. 1789, as selectively published in "Opinion de M. Grégoire, curé d'Embermenil, député de Nanci, sur la Sanction Royale, à la Séance du 4 septembre" (Paris, 1789); "Rapports du Comité de Constitution présentés à l'Assemblée Nationale, le lundi 21 août 1789" (Paris, 1789); and "Opinion de M. Le Duc de La Rochefoucauld, député de Paris, 7 septembre 1789 sur les trois questions suivantes. La Législation sera-t-elle permanente?, Y aura-t-il un ou plusieurs Corps législatifs?, La Sanction Royale sera-t-elle nécessaire?, le Veto sera-t-il absolu ou suspensif?" (Paris, 1789).

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could have been killed without his knowledge since he was responsible for initiating the translation. It is also doubtful that he would have sustained a lifelong friendship with Mazzei and Du Pont had they tried to bypass him in this matter. But the act in itself was not a crime, and the stakes may have seemed epic-sized in the supercharged atmosphere of prerevolutionary France. Jefferson's commitment to the French reform movement was strongly personal; it seems hardly likely that he would have allowed a French translation of Adams' *Defence* to threaten it.

Also relevant to Jefferson's willingness to connive at such a suppression is the fact that in November 1787, when Mazzei said Adams' "Apologie" was on the press, Jefferson may have taken a second (first?) serious look at the *Defence* and the political theories it contained. In early November Du Pont had written Jefferson criticizing Adams' *Defence*. Jefferson had offered in his answering letter a rather curious "defense" of Adams' ideas. Adams, Jefferson explained, feared that the American people were "disposed to confide too much in a single member of government."[19] This was not Adams' fear at all, but Jefferson apparently had not read the *Defence* closely and had assumed that he and Adams shared the same political convictions. This assumption was soon abruptly shattered when the two men exchanged opinions on the Constitution. As activists during the Revolution and practical diplomats afterward, they had worked closely together, but it was this consummating document of American political construction that prompted them to explain themselves to one another. These letters brought to the surface differences so striking that Jefferson must have been severely jarred by them.

"You are afraid of the one—I, of the few," Adams wrote to Jefferson in a much-quoted passage, but Adams was also afraid of the people and the fundamental mechanism of democracy, and he added a not so often quoted warning:

> You are apprehensive the President when once chosen, will be chosen again and again as long as he lives. So much the better as it appears to me.—You are apprehensive of foreign Interference, Intrigue, Influence. So am I.—But, as often as Elections happen, the danger of foreign Influence recurs. . . . Elections, my dear sir, Elections to offices which are great objects of Ambition, I look at with terror.[20]

"Passion, Prejudice, Imagination, Enthusiasm or Caprice" are rulers of nations, Adams had written Jefferson earlier, and in 1787 Adams apparently pinned his hopes on an executive power inaccessible to these tyrants.[21]

[19] Jefferson to Du Pont, Nov. 6, 1787, Winterthur MSS, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library. The fact that Du Pont read the *Defence* at this time seems significant.

[20] Adams to Jefferson, Nov. 10, 1787, Jefferson to Adams, Nov. 13, 1787, Adams to Jefferson, Dec. 6, 1787, in *Adams-Jefferson Letters*, ed. Cappon, I, 210, 211–12, 213–14.

[21] John Brown Cutting to William Short, Nov. 3, 1787, Short Papers, III, Manuscript Division,

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Just the opposite, Jefferson's first response to the Constitution was an anguished cry of disbelief that his countrymen could have created "a bad edition of a Polish king." The fear of the re-eligibility of the President affected all Jefferson's Paris associates and was echoed repeatedly in the letters of La Rochefoucauld, La Fayette, Condorcet, Du Pont, Mazzei, and Short. What must have been Jefferson's astonishment at Adams' enthusiasm for a President for life! Jefferson never replied to Adams' remarks, and four years later, when domestic politics pulled them apart, Adams wrote Jefferson about his puzzlement:

> You observe "That you and I differ in our Ideas of the best form of Government is well known to us both." But, my dear Sir, you will give me leave to say I do not know this. I know not what your Idea is of the best form of Government. You and I have never had a serious conversation together that I can recollect concerning the nature of Government.[22]

Jefferson had concluded this difference from these letters and perhaps a closer reading of Adams' *Defence*. If this gulf between them had been exaggerated, as well it might have been in the agitated atmosphere of Paris in 1787, then Jefferson perhaps could have been induced to permit the *américanistes* to squelch the first French *Defence* and, in so doing, erect another barrier between him and Adams.

About the abortive Adams translation and the subsequent French publication of Stevens' attack on the *Defence* Jefferson maintained a discreet silence. No word about *Examen du gouvernement d'Angleterre* entered his many letters home even though its contents and the name of its attributed author, Livingston, were being bruited about in the French press, on the floor of the National Assembly, and surely also in the salons Jefferson frequented. He did bring home with him a copy of *Examen* bound together with the original American pamphlet. Stamped in gold letters on the spine is "Livingston Against De Lolme and Adams." It was a distinctly French version of the pamphlet that was written on a farm in Hoboken. And it is just possible that, for a few months in Paris, Jefferson looked at his fellow countrymen's writings from the viewpoint of those Frenchmen who gloried in the name of America.

Library of Congress. Cutting who was staying with Adams in London reported in this letter to Short, Jefferson's young secretary in Paris, that "Mr. Adams is decided for an unqualified absolute negative being vested in the Governor General of the United States for actual use *pro re nata* in all legislative cases of [illegible] disorder whatsoever. And wou'd likewise prefer having the same sort of negation-authority mingled among the attributes of every chief-magistrate of the republics in our union." Short undoubtedly shared this letter with Jefferson.

[22] Adams to Jefferson, July 29, 1791, in *Adams-Jefferson Letters*, ed. Cappon, I, 248–49.

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★ ★ ★ Review Note ★ ★ ★

FOUNDATIONS OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE. By *Morton White.* (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. 299. $6.95.)

HISTORIANS in our country and our century have been notably indifferent to the philosophy of history, and even the recent flurry of interest has increased only the consumption of it. For its production the consumers remain, now as ever, dependent on those philosophers who happen also to be historians, and the supply, never plentiful, has been running mighty thin. As long as philosophers descried a temporal pattern in reality—cyclical, providential, dialectical, or evolutionary—such patterns were *ipso facto* applicable to the historical process, and even when, toward the end of the last century, the locus of the philosophy of history shifted from the process of history to the ways of knowing it, the persistence, among the idealist philosophers who ushered in the transition, of a belief in the psychic connection between the historian who knows and the agent who makes history kept epistemology historically relevant.

But since the dual achievements of a Croce and a Collingwood we have fallen on evil days. The philosophical trend toward logical and linguistic analysis runs counter to the evocative, imaginative, and pluralistic habits ingrained by the experience of doing history, and, when such distinguished representatives of this trend as William Dray, Carl Hempel, Ernest Nagel, and Karl Popper have seriously addressed themselves to our maverick discipline, they have often seemed, to the practicing historian, either opaque or irrelevant. Morton White too is a philosopher, an analyst, a logician, an empiricist. He is, in short, one of them—but with a difference. He is also a historian, an American intellectual historian, to be precise, and it shows. His *Foundations of Historical Knowledge* is in the mold of linguistic and logical analysis, but it is also the most authentically and sympathetically historical of the works I know in this genre. It is lucid and can be read by historians. It is faithful to historical practice and can, by and large, be endorsed by them.

But White's very success in bringing logical analysis to bear upon the actual operation of historians without violating the integrity of either has exposed him to antithetical pulls that give his book an uneven quality. For his thankless office of mediator involves him in two different services that are only sporadically congruent. First, he tries to show philosophers that the ordinary language of historians can be translated into a valid logic "without forcing it into a logical bed originally construed for others." Second, he tries to show historians, through the logical implications of their sundry approaches, what is valid and what is invalid in their assumptions. Where these two services dovetail, the result is striking. Where they do not, the reason is usually White's fidelity to historical practice, which makes his translation of it into logical terms so literal that what historians

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usually do is rather reflected than illuminated. On these occasions there is a curious discrepancy between the independence and the vigor of the argument on the one hand and the familiarity or inconclusiveness of the result on the other. Thus, White's attack on Marx as exemplar of the "speculative" philosophy of history which posits general substantive laws of human nature or development; the repeated demonstration that "historical explanations are . . . more tenuously constructed, more debatable, more subject to doubt than the explanations of natural scientists"; the distinction between the invalid use of value judgments as ingredients of a historical cause and the valid use of value judgments as points of view for the ranking of empirical historical causes; and the necessity for the historian to transcend the reasons given by his historical subjects in his search for causes: these are positions familiar to historians and evidently designed to identify the standard historical approach susceptible to logical formulation. White's acknowledgment that logic affords no way of prescribing or judging the superiority of any one over any other set of true facts in a historical narrative and his frank admission that value judgments, even when validly used by historians to assign priorities in causation or pass ethical verdicts upon historical characters, have no ground in logic but are relative to the individual historian and his culture, illustrate the modest result to which White is led when the historical enterprise proves unsusceptible to logical formulation. Historians will certainly approve this line of argument, but they will not be much improved by it.

But two definite contributions and one provocative problem accrue to the self-awareness of historians from the happier moments of White's marriage of logic and history. All three stem from his consideration of causal explanation in history, which constitutes the real core of the book (White's prolegomenous announcement of his theme as the role of "fact, law, and value" in historical inquiry is literally correct, but in both the quantity and quality of treatment the focus is on these three factors as functions in the logic of explanatory causes):

Most fruitful is White's development of the "singular explanatory statement" as a valid principle of historical causation. Precisely, albeit awkwardly, labeled "existential regularism," White's version of this principle affirms in logic the historian's conviction that he can assign particular causes to particular events without recourse to a universal covering law and enlightens this conviction, through the logic, by specifying that the historian must also be convinced of the existence of a rigorous, deductive argument establishing a necessary connection between the particular cause and the particular effect, whether or not he does or can make this argument explicit. This principle of White's confirms the historian's experience that he can establish specific causes by reference to an unstated context, and it directs him to know enough of the context for the establishment of such causes.

White's second contribution is one of perspective: he reveals to historians that their ultimate logical problems are not handicaps or weaknesses peculiar to history but inadequacies of conception common to other kinds of knowledge as well. Although he concedes that explanation in history is looser and more tenuous than explanation in the natural sciences, he also insists that it is of the same kind, and the historian's vagueness in explicating the lawful or causal connection between his particular conditions or events is paralleled, in White's admirably hon-

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est admission, by the philosophers' failure in general to clarify what it is in any law that establishes a necessary connection between cause and effect.

The most provocative of White's positions is his argument that in his ranking of causes the historian selects as the decisive cause the one which, from the viewpoint of the historian, is "abnormal" in its relationship to the effected event. The formulation is dubious because, in my own experience at least, it is rather the abnormality of the effect that starts the inquiry and the normality of the cause in terms of this effect that completes it. White's perception that history is intimately and legitimately involved with the abnormal is, nonetheless, certainly sound and should initiate fruitful discussion.

Where, in sum, does White leave us? In the selection of facts, in the allocation of priorities, and in the rendering of moral judgments he reaffirms the sovereign rights of the historian. In the construction of an intelligible coherence among these facts and judgments he prescribes the obligation of the historian to obey the rules of logic common to all disciplined thought. And in the incomplete historical version of this logic, which accounts for singularity, but not temporality, he projects a challenge to future philosophy of history.

University of Chicago LEONARD KRIEGER

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★ ★ ★ ★ *Reviews of Books* ★ ★ ★ ★

General

NATIONALISM. By *K. R. Minogue.* [Ideas in Action.] (New York: Basic Books. 1967. Pp. 168. $4.95.)

Dozens of books have the word nationalism in their titles, but touch little upon it. This book is about nationalism or rather an aspect of it—political ideology. Out of the complex of political ideas behind nationalism, it stresses those expressing "collective grievance against foreigners."

Minogue sees a "three-stage process" in the development of nationalism. The first he labels "stirrings": the work of the brothers Grimm in Germany in philology and folklore or the revival of Hinduism in nineteenth-century India. This stage evolves into "struggle," which is symbolized by the European wars from 1859 through 1870 or the riots and guerrilla wars of a century later in many parts of the world. The third stage he calls "consolidation," or the period after independence and unification. This model (paradigm in current terminology) is useful. Minogue cautiously uses it to interpret the history of nationalism from the eighteenth century to the present in Europe and the world, from the France of Rousseau to the Ghana of Nkrumah.

The book is both a sophisticated discussion of nationalism and a description, of the popular lecture variety, of some of its aspects. Nationalism, as Minogue himself says, is "not a single thing." It arises out of and is more than Minogue's "grievance against foreigners": out of, for example, cultural similarities and longings (Kohn for Central Europe) and the ability to communicate (Deutsch). And it becomes a vehicle for hope and for modernization, as is seen in the numerous recent books on modernization. Of course, the word nationalism has at times been stretched so far that it can mean almost anything and, therefore, little. But, though nationalism does change with time and circumstance, students of nationalism as well as nationalists have given it common meanings, and Minogue's book takes too limited a view. In his discussion, however, he does go beyond his own definition, and other specialists can obtain provocative insights: one may regard modern nationalism as a function of exile, a recourse of the "outsiders, the alienated, the excluded."

Nationalism, Minogue says, may be either "Sleeping Beauty" or a "Frankenstein's monster" as it "brings millions of people out of traditional corners" or "induces bitter, irrational struggles." But, on balance, he concludes, "it has contributed little more than a new vocabulary to the history of political evil." While this conclusion may provide the framework for a good argument, I would have liked to have seen a fuller discussion of why the author believes the concept of nation empty until content is supplied from local circumstances and why he believes politics comes first and a national culture later. The quick retort

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that nationalism is a nineteenth-century "European invention" will hardly do, for there are concrete realities as well as ideological myths.

Macalester College BOYD C. SHAFER

GESCHICHTE DER KIRCHLICHEN HISTORIOGRAPHIE. In two volumes. By *Peter Meinhold*. [Orbis Academicus: Problemgeschichten der Wissenschaft in Dokumenten und Darstellungen, Volume III, Part 5.] (Freiburg: Verlag Karl Alber. 1967. Pp. 533; 628.)

THIS extensive work, despite its size, is limited in scope to Protestant theology, but, even so, the subject cannot be treated without including the early Christian and medieval beginnings. It will be followed by a Roman Catholic volume. Much is, therefore, omitted from the treatment of the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century, which will be treated by Professor H. Jedin in his volume. Nothing is said about the historiography of the Eastern Orthodox churches.

The author defines his method as being grounded in the understanding of the sources that prevailed in the time of their origin. He hopes that nothing of basic importance in the views of the representative historians dealt with will be omitted, but he excludes those authors whose works have not expressed any "basic point of view." He regards himself as succeeding such previous historiographers as Christian Bauer, Erich Seeberg, and Walter Nigg.

In his view, ecclesiastical historiography differs from that of general history in so far as it takes into consideration not only what has already taken place in the times past, but also what history aims at in the future (*Heilsgeschichte*). Thus it not only takes account of the institution of the Church, its cult, and dogmas, as influenced by the political and social conditions of the time, but also of the goal toward which it tends, namely, the fulfillment of God's purpose in history—the rule of Christ in the world.

This sense of the history of the Church, begun by Christ as a new aeon, is interpreted in this eschatological implication by the apostle Paul. It is traced then through the Church fathers to the Middle Ages. That period begins with Augustine and ends with Thomas Aquinas. It is followed by the consideration of the reformers—Luther, Melanchthon, Flacius Illyricus, Erasmus, the various Anabaptist and Mennonite groups, and the Spiritualists. It then passes on to the second generation of reformers, such as Calvin and others. This is followed by the history of Pietism and of the mystics.

The second volume begins with the historians of the Enlightenment and of the idealistic awakening, chiefly represented by Herder, Kant, Hegel, and Schleiermacher. These are followed by Ritschl, Hagenbach, and Von Hase. The twentieth century is represented chiefly by Von Harnack, Sohm, Troeltsch, Hauck, Loofs, Krüger, Von Schubert, Wernle, Lietzmann, and Heussi. The historians of dogma comprise Barth, Rheinhold, and Seeberg. Contemporary historians include Ebeling, Bornkamm, Martin Schmidt, Peter Meinhold himself, Aulén, Werner, Aland, and Kantzenbach. The sole American listed is Latourette, although Philip Schaff, originally Swiss, may be included along with him. It is strange that the volume concludes with the Mormons. Among the English

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writers, only William Beveridge (who is rarely mentioned in general textbooks of church history) is listed.

It appears abundantly clear, even from this exceedingly brief and general survey, that the modern German historians dominate the scene to the exclusion of all others. The English, with the one exception noted, are altogether excluded, as are the French. The Americans, as already indicated, fare hardly any better; even A. C. McGiffert is omitted. This unbalance is so fantastically overwhelming as to be altogether inexcusable.

Claremont, California MATTHEW SPINKA

SUR QUELQUES PROBLÈMES D'HISTOIRE. By *Miron Constantinescu* and *V. Liveanu.* [Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, Number 14.] (Bucharest: Éditions de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie. 1966. Pp. 157. Lei 5.50.)

PARTY officials and scholars in Rumania are gradually freeing themselves of their former Stalinist alignments and ideological commitments. Miron Constantinescu, an important member of the party, and the younger scholar V. Liveanu illustrate the direction of this disengagement in the five essays of this interesting small volume. Their studies are characterized by a strong accent on the continuity of Rumania's historical experience and by close attention to the historiographical issues common to Western scholarship. Constantinescu's major essay proposes a revisionist evaluation of the Transylvanian philosopher and social thinker Simion Bărnuțiu (1808–1864). Bărnuțiu is judged to have been in advance of his time by virtue of his economic and social critique of the reactionary world he inhabited and by reason of his contribution to the development of Rumania's national and cultural identity. Constantinescu's second article reviews the significance of the famous message Lenin, I. Sverdlov, and L. Kaménev sent to the workers and peoples of Austria-Hungary in November 1918. He reports that Lenin "probably" edited this communication supporting the claims to the autodetermination of their own destiny by the states to be built over the ashes of the Danubian monarchy. A final brief note by Constantinescu suggests that a search be made for the lost articles of Karl Marx on the Danubian Principalities and Rumanian nationalism—essays that Marx sent to Charles A. Dana of the *Tribune,* who rejected them and returned them to Marx.

Continuing the search for a fuller understanding of Rumania's intellectual history, Liveanu examines the achievement of his country's truly great historian, A. D. Xenopol (1847–1920). Liveanu skillfully analyzes Xenopol's theoretical and practical use of the concepts of trend, direction, law, and historical structure. In his second essay Liveanu discusses some of the most pressing controversies on the nature of historical knowledge. He considers the philosophical difficulties involved in understanding the relationship between the subject and the object of historical inquiry, the concept of process, and the possibility of historical objectivity. In the course of his article Liveanu discounts Dilthey's guidance to reliving the past, all "intuitionalism," and the "Neo-Positivism" of Karl R. Popper and Carl G. Hempel. His firm adherence to the philosophical premises of dialectical materialism is softened, however, by his sympathy for the historical approach of

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Nicolae Iorga. History, Iorga insisted, was 20 per cent documents and 80 per cent interpretation where the best results followed the use of common sense, logic, and a talent for "la poésie pure." Liveanu's urbane intelligence is a welcome addition to the congress of those for whom the problems of historiography are central to the historian's craft.

University of Wisconsin EDWARD T. GARGAN

ÉTUDES D'HISTOIRE DU DROIT CANONIQUE DÉDIÉES À GABRIEL LE BRAS, DOYEN HONORAIRE DE LA FACULTÉ DE DROIT ET DE SCIENCES ÉCONOMIQUES DE PARIS, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT. In two volumes. (Paris: Sirey. 1965. Pp. xxxix, 796; 804–1491.)

THE 102 contributors to this *Festschrift* and the range of topics treated bear witness to the great influence of Gabriel Le Bras on generations of historians and canonists. Between the *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident,* the two-volume classic he published in 1931–1932 with his teacher Paul Fournier, and the still unfinished *Institutions de la Chrétienté médiévale* (2 vols. to date, 1959, 1964); between his early essays and the monumental series, "Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'Eglise," which he directs and to which he has contributed Volume I and parts of Volume VII (1955, 1965), lies a life of intense productivity. The twenty-four-page bibliography prefixed to the *Études* indicates Le Bras's many interests beyond the fields of canon law and legal history; he has, in particular, been a stimulating force in contemporary studies of the sociology of religion. The editors of the *Études* advisedly limited the scope to the area indicated in the title, but, since Le Bras has never grown tired of stressing the central importance of the law and institutions of the Church for the general history of Western society, the limitation of scope left comfortable room for a lively variety of topics.

The contributions are divided into four groups: "Sources du droit canonique" (31 papers); "L'Église et les pouvoirs séculiers" (25 papers); "Droit canonique et droit romain au moyen âge" (14 papers); "Personne, famille et société" (32 papers). These classifications are, of course, to some extent arbitrary, and the boundaries overlap. In the section on the history of sources many papers yield welcome new material on the history of doctrines and institutions; in the sections on the Church and secular powers, or on Roman and canon law, new canonical sources are discussed occasionally, as well as parallels and contrasts between law and theology. In the broad conception of *histoire du droit canonique* that characterizes the work of Le Bras and is reflected in the offerings made by his friends or disciples, the labeling of compartments becomes indeed unimportant.

The mere enumeration of topics treated in these papers by far exceeds the limits of a review, and it would be unfair to single out individual papers for praise or criticism. As in any accumulation of over one hundred articles covering nearly fifteen hundred pages, one must expect to find the brilliant side by side with the less impressive; new materials and new interpretations alternating with restatements of familiar subjects or opinions. But the overriding impression is one of encyclopedic riches. From the Dead Sea Scrolls and their significance for early Christian institutions to the library of Richelieu; from the history of Christian

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churches in Morocco to church-state relations under the Constitution of Belgium; from twelfth-century discussions of clerical celibacy to the status of Christian marriage in contemporary Senegal—to cite only a few unconventional subjects—there is an almost unlimited variety of topics and problems that bear upon the history of the Church and society. Within these wide boundaries scores of articles discuss individual sources, doctrines, and institutions in the ancient, the early medieval, and the classical canon law; regional and national developments over the centuries in France and elsewhere; recent trends in canonical interpretations.

At times one would have wished for greater care in proofreading, and there is one galling confusion in the making-up of pages, so that pages 721–725 must be read in the sequence 721, 724, 723, 722, 725, in order to make sense. Also, some indexes would have been helpful in exploring the riches of this *Festschrift*, which will keep historians busy for a long time to come.

Yale University STEPHAN KUTTNER

CONSTITUTIONALISM AND THE SEPARATION OF POWERS. By *M. J. C. Vile*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 359. $8.00.)

THIS book is a fine achievement. I found it a stimulating, at times even exciting, elaboration of a position I have expounded and defended since the first publication of *Constitutional Government* thirty years ago. It is distinguished by a clear and forceful style, great learning, and a readiness to consider and assess the newer viewpoints, especially those "behavorist" challenges which are now so fashionable but whose great claims for being the only "scientific" approach to politics are, upon closer inspection, found wanting.

After a general discussion of the doctrine in relation to institutional theory (Chapter I), the author traces the development of the doctrine and its application from the foundation (Chapter II), to seventeenth-century England (Chapter III), to Montesquieu (Chapter IV), to eighteenth-century England (Chapter V), to the doctrine's evolution in America and France (Chapters VI and VII). Then comes a discussion of twentieth-century problems as presented by the rise and fall of parliamentary government (Chapter VIII), French developments from the Third to the Fifth Republic (Chapter IX), and American progressivism (Chapter X). The author finally takes up the behavioral approach (Chapter XI), which he finds wanting, and offers a model of a theory of constitutionalism (Chapter XII) that closely resembles though it is by no means identical with the model I developed in *Man and His Government* (1963). The author, frankly acknowledging the value involvement of political science and theory, concludes that "it is the task of the twentieth century political theorist to place these values [namely, those of social justice and the older ones] in perspective, and to suggest the institutional means by which they can be reconciled."

My main criticism of the author's sage and balanced discussion is that it does not adequately recognize the extent to which a control and limitation of government—an equivalent to what a separation of powers was to accomplish—could be provided by a constitutionally safeguarded alternation of political parties. Similarly, the role of federalism, in fact a territorial division of powers, is hardly mentioned, although it springs from the same concerns, and Vile himself

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has given a thoughtful analysis of American federalism in an earlier work. Even so, and despite certain minor disagreements on such historical points as the characterization of Kant's version as a "logical extreme" rather than a proof of the universal validity of the analytical core of the doctrine he himself so skillfully defends, this study is an outstanding contribution to the history and clarification of one of the most complex and important features of constitutionalism.

Harvard University CARL J. FRIEDRICH

BANKING IN THE EARLY STAGES OF INDUSTRIALIZATION: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *Rondo Cameron.* With the collaboration of *Olga Crisp et al.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 349. $6.50.)

COMPARATIVE history is one of the chief means by which institutions and their evolution can be understood. Cameron's book demonstrates this proposition well. It is an important contribution to learning and understanding and, in parts, to factual knowledge as well. Above all, it is a highly laudable attempt in the very difficult area of comparative history, which is far from being the everyday concern of historians that many claim for it. This fact also leaves it open to criticism.

Is it really comparative history when a number of essays are presented dealing with the same subject in different places but with little attempt at direct association? Would it not answer the problem more adequately if in each essay direct reference were made to the others? It seems insufficient merely to draw all essays together in an introductory and concluding chapter since the reader often is not as expert as the author of a piece and therefore is not as able to make the necessary connections between thoughts as they are presented.

In their introduction Cameron and Hugh T. Patrick, who also contributed the essay on Japan, give rise to hopes that this will be a book of analytical studies. Early in their essay they address themselves to the economists' assumption that "financial institutions will grow more or less spontaneously as the need for their services arises. . . ." Unfortunately, the expectation of analysis is largely disappointed; description dominates. This in itself is a service, and enough analytical hints are contained in the essays so that both historian and economist should in the future be more wary of making easy generalizations in this particular area.

The choice of countries whose financial systems were examined is interesting. Not unexpectedly, England is first scrutinized, followed by Scotland, which, despite the union of 1707, is still regarded as a country here. France and Belgium complete the group of countries that the editor himself deals with. One of Professor Cameron's former students, Richard Tilly, probably provides the best and most original essay in his study of German banking. Olga Crisp's recital of Russian finance and industrialization, replete in detail, leaves questions unresolved that have possibly been better considered in some of her earlier articles. Lastly, Patrick's essay on Japan is interesting, although not necessarily original. Some of his conclusions have already been questioned in a recent article by Kozo Yamamura, "The Role of the Samurai in the Development of Modern Banking

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in Japan" (*Journal of Economic History,* XXVII [June 1967]). Such a quick response emphasizes the fact that the question of banking and industrial revolution is important and enjoys widespread interest.

Possibly the by-product of this book is more significant than its direct intent. It points up the danger of easy generalization as to cause and effect, but it also demonstrates the great value of examining a subject according to a definite set of criteria. Moreover, there is the refreshing attitude of letting the chips fall where they may, which in turn results in raising more questions than it solves. How curious it is, for example, that the English Industrial Revolution ran its course under the aegis of a rather poor banking system, whereas Japan's derivative industrialization benefited from one of the most efficient systems here discussed.

Implicit in the questions raised, it seems, is the proposition that we must look well beyond the banking and financial institutions if we wish to discover the dynamics of rapid industrializations. It is a weird complex network of credit and entrepreneurial skills, puritanical dedication to work and forebearance of consumption for future welfare, projectors' roguery and honest miscalculation, government intervention and governmental self-inhibition that provide some of the catalytic agents in the indeterminable workings of a given society that eventually produces an industrial revolution.

Tulane University HERMAN FREUDENBERGER

THE ILI CRISIS: A STUDY OF SINO–RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY, 1871–1881. By *Immanuel C. Y. Hsü.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 230. $7.20.)

IN the years covered by this volume Russia and China came close to open hostilities over the occupation and disposition of Ili in Sinkiang. Prolonged disorders in Sinkiang and the resultant harm to Russian trade interests and to border security had led the Russian generals in Central Asia in 1871 to cross the border and seize the Ili Valley. After some diplomatic maneuvering the Russians agreed to return the territory whenever the Chinese government had put down the Muslim rebellions wracking the area and was in a position to maintain order. When, somewhat to the surprise of St. Petersburg, this day arrived in 1878, it was faced with the embarrassing request to live up to the earlier promise. The ensuing diplomatic skirmish led first to the negotiation of a treaty during which the Russians clearly outwitted the Chinese emissary, a period of near war, doubt, and confusion on both sides, and finally a satisfactory treaty for both states in 1881. Other powers were also concerned with the dispute, principally Britain, which had some rather obvious stakes.

The intricacies of this encounter cannot be recounted here, but the research involved in reconstructing it was obviously exhaustive. Taiwan, Japan, the National Archives, the Library of Congress, Harvard's Yenching Institute, the French and German Foreign Ministries' Archives the British Museum and Public Record Office, the libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, all were visited for pertinent materials. In addition, Professor Hsü had access to the Jomini-Giers correspondence, then being prepared for publication, by courtesy of the editors, Professors

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Charles and Barbara Jelavich. The result is a work of exemplary scholarship. The author should be especially commended for that relative rarity in diplomatic history, truly multiarchival research. We may hope that he will employ his linguistic and other talents in further contributions to the diplomatic history of Eurasia.

Kansas State University ROBERT PAUL BROWDER

PORTUGAL AND THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA, 1875–1891. By *Eric Axelson*. [Publication of the Ernest Oppenheimer Institute of Portuguese Studies of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.] (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 318. $8.70.)

THE treaty of June 11, 1891, fixing the boundaries of British and Portuguese interests in Southeast Africa, marked, as Eric Axelson writes, "The end of an epoch for Portugal." For fifteen years Portugal had acted like a grand colonial power in Africa and on occasions had been treated like one by its more powerful European neighbors in Africa. Now, after five years of hope and delusion following the Berlin Conference, Portugal saw itself not only humiliated but deprived of great expanses of territory it had comfortably, if perhaps vaguely, come to regard as its own during three centuries of intermittent associations in Southern Africa. Financial crises, the lack of any competent administrative personnel and of settlers, and the absence in Lisbon of any consistent policy for the African territories had rendered Portugal incapable of withstanding the assaults of stronger and more ruthless European powers. The consequences of 1891 were to extend, in Portugal as well as in Africa, into the 1960's.

In the past decade a number of studies, particularly those by Oliver, Anstey, and Warhurst, have dealt with Portugal's role in the scramble for Africa and the final colonial division of the continent, but these studies have been largely centered in British diplomacy and were based on British sources. In Axelson's thoroughly excellent work the center of interest is Portuguese, and much of the material comes from Portuguese archives. The result is a balanced and thoughtful work, illuminated by Axelson's sure knowledge of Portuguese African history from its beginnings. This piece of scholarship, important for both Portuguese and African history, is not likely to be replaced.

Axelson traces the complicated course of Portuguese diplomacy in Europe and Portuguese action in Africa from 1875, perhaps the year of the beginning of a new African policy in Lisbon, down to 1890–1891, the years of the British ultimatum and its devastating consequences. While the body of the work deals with affairs in and concerning Mozambique, Axelson has dedicated two cogent chapters to "The Congo, 1875–1884," and the Berlin Conference, which go beyond anything yet written on Portugal's role in the international politics of the Congo. The work is written with wit and candor. Its most serious flaw is the out-of-date bibliography of selected secondary sources.

Brandeis University JAMES DUFFY

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THE REVOLUTIONARY PERSONALITY: LENIN, TROTSKY, GANDHI. By *E. Victor Wolfenstein*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University. 1967. Pp. x, 330. $7.50.)

WHY do people become rebels? Why are some of them successful? Why do those who succeed often lack the capacity to wield the power won? Why do those who can rule so frequently fail to solve the problem of succession? Professor Wolfenstein believes that the answers lie in the rebels' childhood and adolescence and that way to the answers lies in the writings of Freud and Erikson. In each of the three people considered here, the essential trauma involves an unsatisfactory relationship with the father, or rather an inability to handle the ambivalence toward the father that everyone experiences. It is not simply that in struggling against political authority these three were living out their rebellion against their fathers. This is only a small part of Wolfenstein's subtly detailed and imaginatively integrated analyses. We are shown why Lenin so deeply distrusted his environment, felt himself in a kill-or-be-killed world, devoted himself so compulsively to the minutiae of organization, and found it impossible to tolerate dissent or superior authority. We are shown, in contrast, why it was all so much less intense for Trotsky, something of a game in which he could display his intellectual prowess rather than a life or death struggle. In Gandhi's case we see how his identification with his mother, with feminine passivity and self-punishment as a means of opposition, allowed him to achieve indirectly the male power and identity that he had so miserably failed to achieve directly.

At times eyebrows will rise and hairs stand on end. For example, "Just as his father was the possessor of his mother, so Plekhanov would be, if Lenin were unable to stop him, the master of *Iskra*." And many will doubt that Lenin's revolutionary self-confidence derives from his childhood mastery of his "excretory functions," that Gandhi's choice of salt in his Salt March was connected with his sexual problems, that a passing remark by Lenin about Chekhov's *Ward No. 6* meant all that Wolfenstein says it meant, or that Lenin faced the kind of choice between Stalin and Trotsky that Wolfenstein believes he faced.

One might also wonder why there is so much at the beginning and throughout the book on Freud and why Wolfenstein discusses the oral, anal, and genital (Oedipal) stages when most of his attention and explanation lies in the later adolescent years, as structured by Erikson. Since much more material is available for the later, in comparison with the earlier, years, this is convenient, but would Freudians accept this approach or Wolfenstein's claims that this is acceptable because the Oedipal problems reoccur in adolescence? There seems to be an ambivalence in the author's allegiance to Freud and Erikson that should be worked out.

These are small issues compared with the basic question: has Wolfenstein really demonstrated the causal links between the adult thought and behavior of his rebels and their childhood experience or has he simply drawn from that early experience the bits and pieces that permit a Neo-Freudian explanation? One may accept completely the view that adult actions and adult theories reflect efforts to work out ambivalences formed earlier. But can the specific psychody-

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namic relationships be disclosed without the presence of the subject, apart from many "fifty minute hours"? Freud's own attempts to attain insight apart from personal transference with a living subject over an extended period are hardly encouraging. The impediments may be too great. It may, in principle, be impossible to achieve objectivity, to avoid the circularity of proving a theory by selecting only the data that prove it. Wolfenstein seems particularly open to this danger, moreover, because of his apparent eagerness to move on to generalizations, to go from these three cases to a larger sampling. This is precisely the wrong direction. As Erikson's study of Luther suggests, if the inherent problems of applying psychological theory to historical figures are to be solved, they will be so only by long, patient, and exhaustive study of single cases, not by dipping here and there into a number of cases. Wolfenstein should stay longer with Lenin, Trotsky, or Gandhi, and, notwithstanding all the translations, if he decides on one of the former two, it would probably help to learn Russian.

University of Michigan ARTHUR P. MENDEL

COMPETITIVE INTERFERENCE AND TWENTIETH CENTURY DIPLOMACY. By *Richard W. Cottam*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1967. Pp. 243. $5.95.)

THE marriage of history and political theory has been long delayed, and exponents of the separate disciplines have had their problems with methodology and terminology. In this work the author has made another of the valiant attempts to correlate experience and conjecture in order to understand the past and work more effectively for control of the future.

Confining his treatment to the shadowy area of intervening in the affairs of other nations without appearing to do so, or at least not being obnoxious about it, Professor Cottam deals with the amount of or "levels" of interference that a nation will tolerate, discusses "leverage" as a manifestation of power, censures the "ad hoc" American approach to foreign policy and argues that a long-range strategic design could be followed in spite of our "democratic society," postulates "an ideal type model for foreign policy planning," explores United States-Iranian relations as a case study, and concludes with a critique of "The Institutional Base for American Diplomacy."

In a lengthy introduction Cottam reveals many of his premises, conclusions, and what some would regard as his prejudices. The "intuitive," "ad hoc," "crisis interference" policy pursued by the United States is deplored. Conventional diplomacy is no longer adequate, and the traditional final arbiter in disputes between nations, the "ultimate recourse," has been replaced by "political warfare, economic warfare, and psychological warfare." Recognizing what some may consider obvious, the author contends that "a government seeking to influence the policy of another government should, at this point, have expanded its scope of activities to attempt to influence decision-making at levels other than the top governmental." Institutionally alone, the United States is not organized to cope with the situation, but steps can be taken to remedy this and other shortcomings.

The methods and degree of intervention in the affairs of other nations are governed by numerous factors, primarily the outmoded concept of the sovereign

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nation-state. Yet the amount of interference that a nation will tolerate varies depending on circumstances, and the author enumerates "ten types of interference that are commonly resorted to," ranging from diplomatic procedures to the use of force. He then considers the conditions under which a nation will accept what sort of interference and how a predictable reaction can be determined. In assessing the "leverage" that can be brought to bear to influence the policy of another nation, the author takes issue with Hans Morgenthau and Thomas Schelling's espousal of game theory. "Variables," especially of the "situational" type, are imperative considerations, and these, too, are categorized. Tactical and strategic plans must be considered in the context of long-range objectives with reference to multidimensional models constructed for illumination but not deification. Since covert and overt intervention are going to play a major role in foreign relations, the Central Intelligence Agency should be more involved in the formulation and execution of policy.

One might suspect that the marriage attempted by the author has proved to be morganatic, with history being relegated to the lower station. Post-World War II diplomacy is treated, not that of the twentieth century, and much of the evidence is drawn from events in the Middle East consonant with the author's experience and *expertise* in that area. Citations are confined largely to the New York *Times* and various secondary accounts. Still, while fault can be found with certain aspects of this work, it deals ambitiously with one of the more pressing problems of our time and is stimulating and original in many of its precepts.

Temple University RAYMOND G. O'CONNOR

DIPLOMATICHESKIE OTNOSHENIIA MEZHDU SSSR I ANGLIEI (1929–1939 GG.) [Diplomatic Relations between the USSR and England (1929–1939)]. By *V. I. Popov.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia." 1965. Pp. 515.)

SSSR I SShA (IKH POLITICHESKIE I EKONOMICHESKIE OTNOSHENIIA) [USSR and USA: Their Political and Economic Relations]. By *V. A. Val'kov.* [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Mirovoi Ekonomiki i Mezhdunarodnykh Otnoshenii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1965. Pp. 395.)

V. I. POPOV opens his study with a solemn and borrowed explanation of the mainsprings of British foreign policy after 1917. Imperialist rivalry lost its priority then, he asserts, and the primary aims became "the crushing of socialist revolution, repression of the world revolutionary movement and support of anti-proletarian forces in all the countries of the world." After thus elevating prejudice and a nationalist ideology to the level of revealed truth, Popov strives by a most ingenious scholasticism to prove what has been revealed. There is, of course, enough truth in his charges to disturb any Western student who has reexamined the shabby politics of the Western Great Powers in the years leading to World War II. But wide distances separate shabby and self-serving foolishness from vicious Machiavellianism. British policy in the 1930's, like that of the United States, lies somewhere between.

Most interesting is the long, final chapter dealing with the April–August (1939) negotiations between the Soviet Union, Britain, and France. Popov's

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detailed account demonstrates the Russians' sensitivity to every nuance of British diplomacy, as well as the unforgiving resentment provoked by Britain's refusal to take these negotiations seriously. The evidence appears to indicate that even as late as August 17–21 the Russians still seriously hoped to conclude a military pact with the West. That, instead, Stalin joined Hitler on August 23 is laid to England's determined and conscious malevolence toward the Soviet Union.

V. A. Val'kov's book is a carefully documented analysis of Soviet-United States relations from 1917 to 1941. A concluding chapter summarizes his views about the course of events since the war, and an excellent bibliography is appended. In general, Val'kov depicts the Soviet Union as sweet, pure, and put upon. The bad bandits are those familiar, reactionary, Wall Street bankers who find purpose in their dreary lives by endlessly concocting anti-Soviet plots. A faint ray of hope lights this book, however, for Val'kov supports the feeling—implicit in current Soviet policy—that in the United States there have always been two concurrent trends of thought about policy toward the Soviet Union. Besides those beastly "Wall Streeters," Val'kov believes, there are many people, including industrialists, merchants, and thoughtful political leaders, who understand the necessity for friendship or at least peaceful coexistence. This Soviet perception that some Americans may be rational is surely a necessary precondition for any intelligent Soviet-American relations.

These are distinguished studies by competent Soviet scholars. They illustrate once again that as long as such men must use their scholarship to prove the altruistic purity of their own nation's policies, while arguing that the policies of all rival nations are created by self-interested fiends, we have little reason to anticipate an early arrival at historical truth in these matters.

Michigan State University ARTHUR E. ADAMS

A SINO-SOVIET CULTURAL FRONTIER: THE ILI KAZAKH AUTONOMOUS CHOU. By *George Moseley*. [Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 22.] (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1966. Pp. viii, 163.)

THIS interesting monograph seeks to explain the political and economic patterns of Chinese Communist control of a minority group located near the Russian border. The topic is obscure, and the research timely.

Perhaps because it is a pioneering work, the book fails to measure up to high scholarly standards. The sources are inadequate, not necessarily because they are Communist publications but because they are practically all summary accounts containing few specific details. Working under such severe limitations, the author might have confined himself to painting a general picture. Yet he goes far beyond this and dwells instead on such matters as China's difficulty in countering Soviet influences and in remolding the Kazak way of life. The result is a series of projections more imaginative than scholarly. With no documentation other than a Peking statement praising Soviet influences on Sinkiang, the author concludes, on page twenty-five, that the Chinese resented Russia and

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that "the . . . non-Han Chinese of the area . . . measured everything against Soviet standards."

A related problem is the author's tendency to read too much into rather commonplace happenings. He states, for example, that the Chinese Communist party, in an unusual move, reorganized the local governments of Ili, Tacheng, and Altai, but did not tie them directly to the government of Urumchi until later. Similarly, the author observes that the party reconstituted the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace rather than suppressing it. It is not clear why he finds these moves unusual. Surely the Chinese Communist party is known for its flexible tactics. Even its land policy was reversed several times between 1937 and 1950. If Moseley has good reasons for finding the tactical moves in Sinkiang unusual, he does not spell them out in the text.

Similar deficiencies occur elsewhere. After stating that the Kazak men usually did nothing but hunt and play with their children while the women toiled, the author suddenly raises a parenthetical question: "Could this have made the Kazakh men anti-Communist and their women pro-Communist?" No answer is furnished, and the text continues in an entirely different vein. The reader is first intrigued and then confused. Does the author have any reason to believe that the Kazak women are indeed pro-Communist? This point should either have been elaborated or omitted.

The author's main difficulty lies in his attempt to draw specific inferences from very general materials. He also has a tendency to skip from one point to another without making the connections clear.

Queens College YI CHU WANG

PRELUDE TO DOWNFALL: HITLER AND THE UNITED STATES, 1939–1941. By *Saul Friedländer*. Translated from the French by *Aline B.* and *Alexander Werth*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. xi, 328, ix. $6.95.)

Prelude to Downfall is the American edition of Saul Friedländer's book, *Hitler et les États-Unis (1939–1941)*, which was published in 1963 in Switzerland. Translated into English and brought up to date, it seeks to answer the question of Hitler's assessment of the United States during the years preceding the attack on Pearl Harbor.

In his carefully researched study, Friedländer delineates the outlines of the German dictator's American policy from 1939 to 1941. How Hitler, despite his dislike for the United States, attempted to keep America as neutral as possible in order to deal with his other enemies first, how he urged Japan to take decisive steps, and how his calculations went awry, is a story of great interest. Was the Nazi leader justified in attempting to minimize American intervention and in trying to induce Japan to enter the war? According to the author, Hitler's caution was well founded, but his rashness in spurring on Japan before Russia was conquered was a miscalculation.

In this analysis, Freidländer is generally on safe ground. Astute enough to know that America could do him considerable damage, despite his hatred for President Roosevelt and the democratic system, Hitler decided not to take any

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chances. But because he was afraid that the United States might find a way of entering the conflict without involving Japan, he sought to instigate the Island Empire to commit itself to an active role in the war. When Japan, however, instead of attacking Great Britain and the Soviet Union, initiated hostilities against America, it probably contributed greatly to the Axis' final defeat. Hitler and his allies were unable to prevail against three major powers at the same time.

In one respect, Friedländer appears to weaken his presentation. Strangely enough, he minimizes the dramatic occurrences in the few weeks immediately preceding the Pearl Harbor attack, when the reversal of Nazi policy toward America was so evident that the Japanese ambassador in Berlin specifically commented upon it. At that time, abandoning all previous efforts to keep the United States neutral, Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop urged Japan to go to war with America if necessary. But it was Japan, not Germany, which made the final decisions, bombing Pearl Harbor and then asking Hitler for an immediate declaration of war against the United States. This fact does not emerge clearly in the narrative; the author actually makes little of Germany's comparative lack of influence in Tokyo. It is not correct to state that, in August 1941, "utter confusion reigned in the Japanese capital." The Imperial government followed a consistently independent policy. In spite of Nazi pressure to attack Singapore prior to June 1941 and Vladivostok afterward, Japan decided to maintain its neutrality pact with the Soviets and to assault the United States. This was not what Hitler wanted; in serious trouble in Russia, he desperately needed Japanese help in Siberia during the winter of 1941. Instead, Japan asked him for assistance against America. He readily granted the request, but he must have done so in the vain hope that his partner would eventually join with him to crush the Red Army.

Despite his assertion that no systematic treatment of the subject has yet appeared, the author closely follows previous accounts. What he has added is the minute documentation that was unavailable before, as well as a more detailed analysis of America's influence in Vichy France, the Balkans, and Spain. This is a valuable contribution, and the result is a well-rounded book that constitutes an important supplement to the growing literature on American relations with the Axis Powers.

Brooklyn College HANS L. TREFOUSSE

SEA WARFARE, 1939–1945. By *John Creswell*. (Rev. ed.; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 343. $7.95.)

CAPTAIN Creswell's *Sea Warfare, 1939–1945,* is what the author promises: "a study of the maritime operations of 1939–1945 from the naval angle." It covers all the maritime powers involved in World War II, but provides little not available in the more impressive multivolume histories by Samuel Eliot Morison (*History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*) and by Stephen W. Roskill (*The War at Sea, 1939–1945*), both of which are more complete and more skillfully presented. The choppy nature of the organization of this volume, attempting a topical coverage within a chronological framework, makes its use for even the limited purposes of a naval warfare buff seeking a one-volume

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history of World War II difficult. Certainly it cannot be considered thorough enough for the serious student of the complexities of World War II naval strategy or tactics. Even the coverage of specific battles is more catalogue than careful analysis. The saving aspect is a good final chapter that summarizes the major points to be made about new weapons, tactics, and strategy emerging from World War II experience: the new importance of the fleet air arm based on carrier strength; radar, here called the most important technical device used in sea warfare; and the amazing development in amphibious warfare. Again, however, few of these are new pronouncements.

Creswell, like other authors dealing with recent naval history, stresses the importance of peacetime planning and preparation. In several places within this short book, the author points out the price paid for national parsimony or general unpreparedness. He comments on the failure to provide for a mobile attack force, the failure to provide sufficient planes of the right kind to operate with surface ships, the great shortage in cruiser strength that has been a constant problem especially for Britain, and even the shortsighted inadequate defensive installations for such strategic points as Malta or the anchorages for the Home Fleet. Although Creswell draws here on Britain's experience, in underlining these shortcomings he assists those involved with the military affairs of any nation, either as professionals or politicians. None can afford to ignore this lesson.

The maps, index, and bibliography provided here will be useful to students of naval warfare. The index provides a quick key to individual ships or men and their wartime history. The bibliography contains most of the major items, primary and secondary, which the novice scholar would want to consult. Still, Creswell has mined no startling new source.

East Texas State University ROBIN M. RUDOFF

A HISTORY OF WAR AND PEACE, 1939–1965. By *Wilfrid Knapp*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 639. $10.00.)

WRITING a book such as this must be one of the more trying scholarly tasks. Mr. Knapp has chosen to begin with the invasion of Poland, but that event offers no logical beginning, really. He has had to conclude with yesterday's news reports, but his theme has as yet no ending. What he presents is a large tract of our times, a quarter century of international relations, complicated and intractable, at once known in detail and lying still in darkness. The result is a cool, even narrative of events perceived that is fair-minded and lucidly composed. The range of the account is global; the principal focus, perhaps still European.

Such a starting point helps present the Second World War in another perspective than that advanced in older accounts: not so much as the close of the era between two German bids for European hegemony as rather the first phase of the eclipse of European authority and the struggle for the world between Russian-led and American-led blocs, which later opens out into a barely disguised international anarchy challenging American and Russian control all over the globe. More than ever, on this reading, it is apparent that Hitler was the last essential agent unleashing the most profound forces of violence and change in the century.

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Knapp's is a spare and matter-of-fact, though unfailingly pleasant, style. He lingers over no dramas. The death of Admiral Darlan, for instance, is passed off as "one of the rare occasions when political assassination solved more problems than it created." The Vienna confrontation between Kennedy and Khrushchev is noted as being "of signal importance," but is not greatly developed. The immensity of the task causes the author to hurry on in his remarkably calm way. Quotations are neither numerous nor especially arresting, as if he were determined to avoid any sensationalism in the search for a higher view. This decision has its disadvantages.

There are mild criticisms of such statesmen as Eden and Dulles and approving remarks about others (notably Truman and Kennedy—the latter and his advisers for demonstrating "supreme competence" in the Cuban missile crisis). Stalin is rated poorly for his conduct of Russian affairs, while the democratic powers are praised for "the unprecedented and unsurpassed talent" that the cold war drew from them. Favorably inclined as he is toward much of the American stance, however, Knapp permits himself a wry allusion to US troops "finding space for themselves between the ice-cream merchants and the sunbathers on the beaches of Beirut," or to Vice-President Johnson distributing to Berliners "the symbols of American wealth, fountain pens and chocolate bars." This particular view of the world from Oxford is nevertheless free of the kind of astigmatism that once prevailed there, if not at Chatham House.

The major disadvantage weighing upon Knapp's account, as upon every account of these contemporary affairs, is of course the lack of secure knowledge about Russian or Chinese policies and intentions, and the reader is repeatedly warned of this stumbling block in the quest for the recent past. This work does, however, rest upon a comprehensive reading of the major literature on the subject. An excellent blend of narrative and analysis, it is free of jargon, not tied to any theoretical framework, and, in an unpretentious manner, reliably informative.

University of Toronto JOHN C. CAIRNS

THE WIND AND BEYOND: THEODORE VON KÁRMÁN, PIONEER IN AVIATION AND PATHFINDER IN SPACE. By *Theodore von Kármán* with *Lee Edson*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1967. Pp. 376. $10.00.)

VON KÁRMÁN and Lee Edson, a science journalist, wrote this autobiography to interest the general public. Unfortunately they did not write it for those who are, or will be, most interested in Von Kármán—scientists, engineers, social scientists, and historians. The book's major weaknesses stem from the effort to interest the general public. In his introduction Edson unintentionally belittles Von Kármán by attempting to make him great by association with figures of public renown. The photographs emphasize those aspects of his life which, though trivial, presumably have human interest, as if the essence of Von Kármán had not. There is too much emphasis upon his role as adviser to the air force, for this is made to appear the crowning achievement of his career. Von Kármán and Edson seem indifferent to the serious student for no sources are cited, nor even a discussion of sources provided. Despite these weaknesses, the book is noteworthy

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because Von Kármán was a strong and vital character as well as a figure of historical significance, and he and Edson establish this.

Von Kármán was one of the group of remarkable Hungarian scientists who contributed greatly to American technology during World War II. Like Leo Szilard, Edward Teller, and John von Neumann, Von Kármán as a schoolboy in Hungary revealed his gift for mathematics and science. As a graduate student he studied both science and technology and then carried on researches as a *Privatdozent* at Göttingen which, around 1910, was cultivating applied science with industrial and government support. Ludwig Prandtl, the Nestor of aerodynamics, and David Hilbert, the profound and inspiring professor of mathematics, both of Göttingen, greatly influenced him.

Von Kármán liked university life; he enjoyed pure science, and he valued engineering. In Germany this created no conflict: he became a professor of aerodynamics at Aachen where he equipped an applied science laboratory with support from industry in the person of Hugo Junkers. In accord with his lifelong endeavor to solve engineering problems scientifically, Von Kármán chose those complex, almost chaotic, aerodynamic interactions of form, force, and atmosphere. Like Prandtl, he exhibited a genius for finding the simplifying assumptions that made possible the mathematical analysis.

In America Daniel Guggenheim, the philanthropist, cultivated the science of aerodynamics; in California President Robert Millikan strove to make the California Institute of Technology a center of scientific and engineering excellence; together they persuaded Von Kármán to become a professor and director of the new Guggenheim Aeronautical Laboratory. Accustomed to furthering cooperation among science, engineering, and industry, Von Kármán helped foster a creative symbiosis involving the institute and the California aviation industry. World War II swept him up in the great vortex of government-funded research, and, like other leaders in science and engineering, he found himself presiding over the establishment of a mission-oriented, university-administered laboratory (Jet Propulsion Lab) and a "spin-off" industrial enterprise (Aerojet General).

This career, though unique in details, is similar in broad outline to the careers of many of the new wave of engineer-scientists who are now the establishment of our leading technical universities, science-based industry, and government. They merit serious study by those concerned with the essence of twentieth-century history.

Johns Hopkins University THOMAS P. HUGHES

Ancient

THE CLASSICAL TRADITION: LITERARY AND HISTORICAL STUDIES IN HONOR OF HARRY CAPLAN. Edited by *Luitpold Wallach*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 606. $12.50.)

THIS is a collection of good essays written by a group of the most distinguished classicists in honor of one of our great teachers and scholars and one of the kindest and best-liked men.

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Readers of this review will be most interested in the historical essays, which are few but significant; they ought to realize, however, that the topics range from Homer to Spenser and that the list of contributors contains such luminaries as Daube, Ullman, McKeon, Wolfson, Kristeller, and others. Among the historical papers, I found O'Meara's and Welles's especially noteworthy; more specialized, but equally important, are Meritt's (on the Hellenistic calendar), Larsen's (on Polybius' partiality to the Achaeans), and Getty's (on Nero's indictment of the Christians).

Behind an innocent title ("Isocrates' View of History"), Welles presents a sweeping discussion and re-examination of the famous documents of the Persian Wars, among them the Themistocles Decree, the Oath of Plataea, and the Peace of Callias; his conclusion is open to various interpretations: "I do not think that they are inventions of the orators of the fourth century . . . but that they came into existence in the archives and on the inscriptions of Athens" Of Isocrates, Welles says "there is nothing here to indicate that he deliberately invented or falsified," and he therefore concludes that "it is even possible that Theopompus had acquired his righteous indignation from his master [Isocrates]." For a more up-to-date treatment, see *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum,* XX (1967), 142, 274.

The comparison between St. Augustine and A. Toynbee ("Toynbee and St. Augustine") is devastating for Toynbee, in spite of the "greatness" of his book. O'Meara quotes him as claiming that he "had found himself in communion . . . with all that had been," and I heard him say recently that it was "the task of the historian to predict the future." Of course, the historian is none other than Toynbee.

The book merits its title, and it testifies to the survival of the classical tradition in spite of modern literary criticism and modern social science.

Stanford University A. E. Raubitschek

THE GREEKS. By *Antony Andrewes.* [The History of Human Society.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. xxiii, 294. $6.95.)

The Greeks will have proved themselves a great people if their reputation survives the current spate of popularizing studies; no respectable paperback stand is complete without several works on the Greeks' art, philosophy, or way of life. While this attention is heartening, few are as solid, as sober, and, withal, as stimulating as Andrewes' well-written account.

Its scope may be defined by exclusion. The introduction by J. H. Plumb, through which the reader should pass quickly, makes clear that the series on "The History of Human Society" is not intended to furnish a group of factual handbooks. On the other hand, Andrewes does not perpetrate rhapsodic, ill-founded generalizations or deal inordinately with Greek art and literature; Plato is not here the summit toward which all Greek development paves the road. Nor, again, is this a chronological survey, though the opening chapters take up in order the geography, the Mycenaean Age, the Dark Ages, and the outlines of political history. Even so, a reader totally ignorant of Greek history may become a little confused (particularly in Chapter x, on social values) as the

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argument darts back and forth over several centuries. The Hellenistic period is entirely omitted on grounds clearly stated in the author's preface, and the rise of Macedon is given little place.

What remains is a tightly knit, interpretive work seeking "to define the basic and distinctive features of Greek society, attending particularly to those factors which an English or American reader might find unfamiliar." First come the social groups of this almost primitive world, then its economic structure (Chapter VII on traders, craftsmen, and slaves is a joy to read), its military and political organization, and thereafter sections on social values, religion, and intellectual speculation. Everywhere the author considers the general reader, for whom his asides explain obscurities without condescension; still, Andrewes does not hesitate to note when it is impossible to translate Greek words or institutions into modern dress. Nor is he afraid of admitting ignorance in those dark areas where evidence is thin. By and large, however, the Wykeham Professor of Ancient History knows whereof he speaks. Unlike many recent appreciations of the Greeks, this is not a cento of ancient quotations, though one wishes that there were space here to transcribe Andrewes' own levelheaded yet sensitive justification for studying Greek civilization that appears on pages 265–266.

I would set *The Greeks* beside Kitto's bubbling "Penguin" essay, which is truly high praise. The book has thirty-two plates, the choice of which again illustrates Andrewes' independent judgment; a table of dates; and a bibliography that refers mainly to English and French studies.

University of Illinois CHESTER G. STARR

ARMS AND ARMOUR OF THE GREEKS. By *A. M. Snodgrass.* [Aspects of Greek and Roman Life.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. 151. $6.50.)

IN keeping with the purpose of the series in which this volume appears, the author has tried to inform the specialist and the amateur about the weapons of the Greeks and their use in war. While Dr. Snodgrass satisfactorily explains the role of superior equipment in the Greek victories over foreign enemies, his emphasis properly falls on the offensive and defensive paraphernalia of the Greek soldier from Mycenae to Macedon and beyond. He documents his study with excellent illustrations drawn from ancient textual sources, from representations in works of art, especially vase painting, and from surviving specimens.

This work begins with the Mycenaeans, when the fighting man attacked with long bronze thrusting swords, spears, arrows, and chariots and relied for defense on oxhide shields and boar's teeth helmets. Bronze body armor was introduced about 1450 B.C., only to be replaced by cloth corselets a century later, as swords and shields were reduced. Most significant was the transformation of the earlier heroic warrier into the uniformly equipped soldier as on the "Warrior Vase" from Mycenae. Following the Mycenaean collapse, short iron swords came into general use by 1000 B.C., and light cavalry appeared in the eighth century. By this time helmets with bronze crests and bronze bell corselets were available, possibly under the influence of Danubian smiths.

If the development of light skirmishing forces, composed of slingers, archers,

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and peltasts continued after 750 B.C., the dominant soldier was the heavy infantryman or hoplite, armed with bronze corselet, helmet, greaves, shield, short slashing sword, and heavy thrusting spear and assembled in close formation. The author traces the evolution of the hoplite in the next four centuries, describes the various helmets, and analyzes the regional variations in equipment and the tactical results of the replacement of the bell corselet in the fifth century by the lighter quilted linen corselet or by the plate cuirass. The enhanced mobility of the armored hoplite, added to the shock of his massed charge, carried the field at Plataea and marked the heyday of the citizen soldier before the gradual employment of mercenaries in the late fifth century. With the subsequent development of cavalry and the reconstituted Macedonian phalanx under Alexander, tactics became more important than technology, although the spread of special auxiliary forces in the Hellenistic army with their equipment is fully treated, as are the adjustments in weapons and armor caused by the tactical dominance of the massive phalanx. The last great appearance of that phalanx came at Pydna in 168 B.C., where the field was won by Roman fluid organization.

The martial feats made possible by Greek arms and armor are set out for the first time in this book for the classical historian and for the general reader. On behalf of the latter, one might have wished for a glossary of technical terms, a map of the Greek world, and a more extensive list of the major collections of Greek weapons, with some indication of their contents.

University of Pennsylvania RICHARD BRILLIANT

SPARTA. By *A. H. M. Jones*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 189. $6.50.)

THE conjunction of Professor A. H. M. Jones, Harvard University Press, and the most interesting topic in Greek history—Sparta—ought to be auspicious.

The author discusses the origins of the "Lycurgan" polity and provides a narrative history of Lacedaemon from the First Messenian War to the time of Augustus and Eurycles, though the Hellenistic and Roman periods get somewhat short shrift. There is a brief appendix of digressive notes. Since Jones is one of the most distinguished living scholars, this should have been a much better book than it is, and even he has some misgivings about it. There are serious misprints, and some factual errors: for example, Cleombrotus II was the son-in-law, not the son, of Leonidas II. Cleomenes III raised five hundred, not fifty, talents, and it is *not* "fairly certain that the redistribution of land was cancelled" by Antigonus (See B. Shimron, "The Spartan Polity after the Defeat of Cleomenes III," *Classical Quarterly,* New Ser., XIV [1964], 236–37). Unlike some recent writers, Jones is rightly skeptical about Spartan traditions, and his approach to them is commonsensical. Nevertheless, he sometimes pontificates on vexed questions and gives an aura of certainty on matters still disputed and perhaps insoluble. The author states that "reports that the Spartiates once numbered 10,000 or 9,000 need not be taken seriously," while he is sure that "not only the Lycurgan distribution of land in equal lots, but also the inalienable Spartiate allotment is a myth created in the later fourth

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century . . . about a generation after Leuctra." Surely Sparta had a small population, and there was never absolute equality at Lacedaemon, and Jones may be correct in both of his contentions. However, *pace* Beloch, Herodotus' eight thousand Spartans (7.234) are not implausible, and many scholars believe that a distribution of land under the spurious authority of the sainted Lycurgus took place in response to the crisis of the Second Messenian War, but Jones does not adequately present the case for differing opinions. The unwary reader may not realize the extent to which Spartan historiography is a morass of contradictions comparable to early Roman or Hebrew history.

Jones's recent history of the later Roman Empire is a monument of scholarship, and his essays on *Athenian Democracy* (1957) are extremely perceptive, but Sparta requires a more extensive treatment than he has given it in the present work, which does not reflect his great talents.

University of Southern California THOMAS W. AFRICA

SOLONOS NOMOI [THE LAWS OF SOLON], DIE FRAGMENTE DES SOLONISCHEN GESETZESWERKES MIT EINER TEXT- UND ÜBERLIEFERUNGSGESCHICHTE. By *Eberhard Ruschenbusch*. [Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte. Einzelschriften, Number 9.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1966. Pp. x, 140. DM 30.)

THIS ambitious book is a history of Solon's laws from 594 B.C. to the second century of our era. In the introduction Ruschenbusch discusses the problems of recovering from literary sources the original Solonian laws and shows that Aristotle, who wrote the first treatise on Solon's code, had access to a text unaltered by later lawgivers. Next he turns to the physical objects on which Solon had his laws inscribed. The Greeks called them *kyrbeis* and *axones;* unfortunately, we do not know the exact meaning of either word. Ruschenbusch believes that the two words referred in effect to the same thing, that we are not dealing with two bodies of law, but one could advance equally strong arguments that *kyrbeis* were entirely different from *axones*.

In the second chapter Ruschenbusch offers a sketch of the original documents and estimates the minimum length of Solon's code at sixteen to twenty-four pages. Here his imagination has gotten the better of him. He argues that Solon did not arrange his laws according to the magistrates who were charged with enforcing them, yet he admits that the laws as recodified in 410–399 B.C. were so arranged. He rejects rightly the idea that the Athenians had previously revised Solon's laws in any systematic way. The destruction of the *kyrbeis* and *axones* he dates to the period 200–130 B.C. on very shaky grounds: Plutarch first tells us that only scraps of them remained.

Chapter III traces the way in which information about the laws passed down to later writers. Ruschenbusch identifies Aristotle's treatise (now lost) as the major source of genuine material and asserts that the Alexandrian scholar Hermippus, who did not have access to Aristotle's work, was responsible for the spurious laws mentioned by Diogenes Laërtius, Diodorus, and Plutarch. He discusses lastly the influence of the Attic orators and comic poets on the tradition. His arguments would be more convincing had he not assumed

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throughout that our severely limited evidence is somehow representative of all the lost material. It is impossible to pinpoint the source of every reference to a law of Solon.

The most valuable part of the book is the collection of 33 *testimonia* about the mysterious *kyrbeis* and *axones,* and 152 fragments of laws with some claim to be Solonian. Yet an inscription of 409/8 B.C., which belonged to the revised code and preserves the title "First *Axon*" is missing from the *testimonia,* and Ruschenbusch has ignored entirely the other surviving fragments of this code, several of which illuminate Solon's legislation.

The author is preparing a commentary on the fragments; if he reprints the text, he should correct the many misprints in the Greek. Ruschenbusch has reviewed a most difficult subject; he has solved few of the old problems, but his book will be useful.

University of Pennsylvania HARDY HANSEN

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE. By *Lester Hutchinson.* (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. 182. $5.00.)

FEW periods of ancient history have received such copious and intense study as the last century of the Roman Republic, and yet it is possible to write quite an acceptable and certainly a readable account of the events of Cicero's consulship without, seemingly, ever having heard of the work of such men as Gelzer, Taylor, Syme, and Badian. It is based almost entirely on the primary sources, with help from the *Cambridge Ancient History,* and yet so much exists in Plutarch, Sallust, and the speeches and letters of Cicero especially, together with the other ancient sources listed in the bibliography, that the story is essentially complete, even if obviously nonprofessional.

The author's thesis is that Catiline and his group of conspirators were basically right, or at least had much that was right on their side. Rome was rotten, with the wealth of the provinces flowing into the hands of the small ruling group and their associates among the knights, while most of the population, even at Rome, was on the verge of starvation. Catiline's revolution was to be a social revolution on the Greek model, according to Sallust: cancellation of debts and redistribution of land, together with measures to end the senators' monopoly of the magistracies. Cicero, to win election, sold out to the conservatives and went along with them all the way to the illegal execution of Lentulus and others. The result was, later, Cicero's exile and, we are led to infer, the extinction of the Republic itself, since it was too corrupt to survive long.

Where the author is unsuccessful, of course, is not so much in his essential story as in the background: the provincial administration, the techniques of government, the economic crisis, the relationship and shifting policies of the great families. This gives his narrative a naïve quality, but it is intended for the general reader, for whom much of this background is both too technical and too controversial to be congenial. In his primary aim, I think that the author has succeeded.

Yale University C. BRADFORD WELLES

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L'ARMÉE ET LE SOLDAT À ROME: DE 107 À 50 AVANT NOTRE ÈRE. By *Jacques Harmand*. (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1967. Pp. xxiii, 538.)

THIS book was undertaken because previous works on Roman military affairs in the first century B.C. were devoted almost entirely to Caesar's army. The paucity of data about other armies fostered the assumption that the troops opposed to Caesar were like his—in Harmand's words, the *imaginaire reflet* of the Caesarians. But the civil war of 49–45 B.C. revealed a great disparity, and Harmand has uncovered enough evidence to provide a much clearer understanding of the military situation from Marius to Caesar. His documentation is abundant, and modern works, fully utilized, are evaluated with sober good sense.

Harmand's thesis throughout is that Rome's military establishment deteriorated steadily after the Hannibalic war because of the Senate's parsimony and its members' "obsession de l'*Urbs*," that because of these same factors Marius' innovations could not produce a thorough reform ("Des légionnaires fournis surtout par le monde de la paysannerie pauvre sont soldés de façon dérisoire, ce qui rend, dès le principe, toute discipline sérieuse impossible . . ."), and that the decisive difference between Caesar's army and the other Roman armies of the time consisted exactly in Caesar's willingness and ability to make the necessary changes. "L'esprit créateur de César s'oppose à la dégradation sénatoriale, pour les hommes comme pour les structures. . . . A partir du même recrutement de rustiques et de pauvres, une solde rationnelle permet un style disciplinaire satisfaisant qui donne une bonne armée . . . ," an army that was not only an instrument of revolution but also appropriate for the needs of the Empire.

Part I of the book is devoted to the army in its technical aspects: the size, number, and distribution of legions, arms and artillery, castrametation, intelligence, logistics, and similar things. Some is repetitious, but it is a serious re-examination of the state of our knowledge, and new insights emerge from it. Fresher and, to me, more interesting is the second part—a patient and detailed examination of the common soldier as a human being: the milieu from which he was drawn, the conditions of his service, his pay, discipline, training, and officers, the reciprocal relations of soldier and general, and the psychological factors in the soldier's position. This entails much consideration of Roman society and government in general and gives the book a value surpassing its worth as a sound study of Roman armed forces at the end of the so-called Republic.

State University of New York, Albany ROBERT O. FINK

LAW AND LIFE OF ROME. By *John Crook*. [Aspects of Greek and Roman Life.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. 349. $8.50.)

THIS book at once rewards and disappoints. Roman law can be a most fruitful aid to interpreting Roman life, as, for example, in A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Law and Roman Society in the New Testament* (1963). Mr. Crook also offers this reward in a study that, he states, "is about Roman law in its social

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context, an attempt to strengthen the bridge between two spheres of discourse about ancient Rome by using the institutions of the law to enlarge understanding of the society and bringing the evidence of the social and economic facts to bear on the rules of law." He limits his treatment to the years between the emergence of Cicero as a pleader about 80 B.C. and the assassination of the jurisconsult Ulpian about A.D. 220. He must, therefore, often determine how far the *Digest,* on which we depend for much of our knowledge of the law of the later Republic and early Empire, was "up-dated" by Justinian's compilers. For the late Empire, historians can draw directly on the imperial constitutions collected in the Theodosian and Justinian *Codes* to illuminate social, administrative, and economic conditions, as, for example, does A. H. M. Jones in his *The Later Roman Empire* (1964), or Sir Samuel Dill in his *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (2d ed., 1899).

The disappointment for a reader not well grounded in Roman law is that, despite Crook's motto, *Iuris consultus abesto,* he often submerges his insights into conditions of life beneath the details of legal rules and procedure. Thus, his book is harder to follow than those mentioned above, in which the legal evidence is subordinated to the historical treatment. Crook does, nevertheless, illuminate important aspects of Roman life: citizenship, free birth, legal procedure, the family, property, guardianship, wills, land tenure, labor conditions, loans, agency, public law, municipal regulations, crime, and the courts. In his conclusions, he notes areas not covered: the quality of Roman jurisprudence, the enduring value of Roman law, the application of Roman law throughout the Empire, or the interaction between Roman and local law. He holds that, as against the excessive refinement of later Roman law, classical law provided a conservative but not unduly rigid, and on the whole a workable and fair, "legal framework in which orderly lives could be led."

Harvard University MASON HAMMOND

UNE CAMPAGNE CÉSARIENNE: ALESIA. By *Jacques Harmand.* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1967. Pp. xxii, 386.)

CAESAR's siege of Alesia and subsequent victory over Vercingetorix brought his extensive war in Gaul to a decisive end. It ranks as one of the crucial battles in the annals of warfare, for it was a major turning point in history. Caesar's own narrative in the *Gallic War* is quite brief, often laconic, and frequently lacking in the precise details that modern historians desire. In this long and meticulous study Harmand undertakes to furnish as many of these details as possible.

The book is divided into four parts. The first deals with the countryside and the town, on Mont Auxois near Alise-Ste.-Reine; the Mandubii were under Lingonian influence. The second discusses the two armies, beginning with their arrivals at the city. Harmand concludes that the total Roman muster was about 50,000 men, with ten legions of some 35,000 men as the main element; the Gauls will have had approximately 60,000 men. The third puts Caesar's various works under close textual and topographical examination in their various

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phases; in the vexed textual question of *BG* 7. 72. 2, he supports *pedes* against *passus*. This is, to my mind, the most valuable part of the book. The last part attempts to reconstruct the campaign, paying particular attention to the problems of logistics on both sides. Caesar's victory was gained by his superiority in supply and the consequent ability to wait out the enemy.

Studies of ancient topography and battles generally tend to lose much of their impact for those not intimately familiar with the region and its landmarks. Harmand rather overwhelms his reader, and this does not make for easy reading. English readers will undoubtedly still turn first to the pertinent appendixes of Rice Holmes's *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul,* but should then consider Harmand's views, for this is an important book that contributes greatly to understanding of the end of Caesar's long campaigns.

Emory University HERBERT W. BENARIO

Medieval

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Walter Ullmann.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 160. $5.00.)

AN eminent historian here examines what he describes as the transition from the subject individual of the early Middle Ages to the citizen, "the individual as a full member of the State" in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This study is set firmly within the framework of the now-familiar ascending and "descending or theocratic theme[s] of government and law." In the first of three major sections, "The Abstract Thesis," Ullmann elaborates the thesis that from the early Middle Ages the individual Christian *fidelis* was subject to governmental authority and enjoyed no inalienable rights, particularly of participation in government. This, "the medieval viewpoint concerning the standing of the individual in society was the result of the combination of . . . the overriding importance of law in the Middle Ages and the organological conception of society" Section II, "The Practical Thesis," centers about a discussion of English feudalism, focusing especially on Article Thirty-nine of Magna Carta, which, Ullmann says, "initiated what came to be called the rule of law . . . ," and which, he strongly implies, is the first appearance of "what at a later age came to be the common law of England." Unlike scholars who underline the fractionalizing and disruptive qualities of feudalism, Ullmann emphasizes its contractual nature and "the equalizing effect of the feudal law . . . in a legal sense" He argues that purely feudal law "was applicable to all conditions of man in England [and even] served for the agricultural classes." In "The Humanistic Thesis" Ullmann explains how the fusion of earlier "preparatory agencies such as feudalism" with Thomistic Aristotelianism led to a new emphasis upon nature and the role of the individual, and, hence, a challenge to the descending thesis in the emergence of the responsible citizen in place of the subject. A "rebirth of natural man . . . entailed the rebirth of the citizen in the public sphere." With Dante at last "the wheel had come full circle: the government was no longer the superior that laid down and gave

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the law to a subjected mankind, but liberated man himself was to see in government his servant and the protector of his own interests."

This thesis is clearly and straightforwardly presented, but it is perhaps this very virtue that creates doubts that the author might have attempted to dispel in a more nuanced and definitive study. Would a more thorough and balanced consideration of the non-English scene and of such elements as alodial holding in Germany and Italian citizenship in city-states and rural communes have suggested a more complex analysis? Most interesting would be a detailed elaboration of Ullmann's distinction between "the earlier and largely neutral meaning and the later meaningful import of the citizen" More expanded treatment of the relationship of Roman law to medieval citizenship should also prove illuminating.

While this book may not convince medievalists who do not already agree with Ullmann's approach and interpretations, it is enjoyable, stimulating, and challenging and can be read and pondered profitably by all historians.

University of California, Davis WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF MEDIEVAL RUSSIA. By *Arthur Voyce*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 432. $9.95.)

VOYCE presents not only the development of Russian art and architecture to about 1700 but also its Scythian, Iranian, and other antecedents. He has included political, economic, and social background with particular attention to Russia's dependence upon Byzantium's Orthodox Christianity. Byzantine influence is seen to vie with Romanesque and even more with Oriental features, especially from Georgia and Armenia. Occasional late influences from China, India, and other Asian lands are indicated. Such fourteenth- and fifteenth-century master icon painters as Theophanes the Greek, Andrei Rublev, and Dionysius receive special attention. Of particular interest is the author's brief yet detailed treatment of a much-neglected subject, the decorative arts and crafts, including such aspects as metalwork, jewelry, embroidery, arms and armor, woodwork, carving, and ceramics.

The author's coverage of his subject must be judged extraordinarily complete, if one considers the modest size of his book, although early frescoes probably deserve more space. (See his slight attention to frescoes in Novgorod, in the Church of the Saviour at Nereditsa, and in the Cathedral of St. Dmitri in Vladimir, or his mere mention of the Church of the Transfiguration in Volotovo without attention to frescoes.) One misses some important icons as the standing "Sts. Boris and Gleb," the "Zvenigorod Nativity," and the Novgorodian quadripartite icon. Voyce has made use of a wide variety of sources, relying heavily on I. E. Grabar's *History of Russian Art* and referring to numerous better Soviet works.

The work is very valuable for the historian interested in the origins of Russian culture and the influences upon it. Despite occasional stress upon the native Russian contribution, resulting from a de-emphasis on Byzantine influence (his treatment of Theophanes' impact on Rublev or the historical

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significance of frescoes containing possible Byzantine models for the love and emotionalism generally considered typically Russian), the author shows a remarkable striving for objectivity by suggesting numerous likely influences. The art critic may regret the focus on the image of the objects under consideration with a concomitant modest attention to basic structure and design. In particular the roles of spatial relationships and of color seem minimized, even though their presence is noted. Numerous fine plates (none, regrettably, in color) with descriptions, a glossary, a bibliography, and a detailed index make this work a handy reference tool.

University of Kansas OSWALD P. BACKUS III

THE GEATS OF *BEOWULF:* A STUDY IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL MYTHOLOGY OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Jane Acomb Leake.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 212. $6.00.)

THIS book is a revised version of a doctoral dissertation. It deals with a fascinating and much-discussed subject, the identity of the Geats of *Beowulf.* As the subtitle indicates, the author examines the question largely from a historical, geographical, and mythological point of view, while dealing also with the linguistic aspect of the problem.

Her main thesis is that the Geats were neither the Jutes of historic fame nor the Gautar of southern Sweden, but are more likely to be identified as the Getae, an ancient Thracian tribe. In support of her contention, the author draws heavily on medieval and other historical sources, and, at the same time, she examines critically the extensive literature on *Beowulf.* Her detailed notes, as well as her bibliography, reveal both her scholarly acumen and how far afield she has gone in gathering information on the subject.

In her discussion (Appendix A) of the relationship of *Beowulf* to Old Norse parallels, I miss, however, a reference to Oscar L. Olson's study: *The Relation of the Hrólfs Saga Kraka and the Bjarkarímur to Beowulf* (1916). The reference to the "Hreð-gotan" of *Widsith* as the "nest-Goths" or "stay-at-home" Goths appears strange to me. The Old Norse equivalent "Hreið-gotar" (later form "Reið-gotar") clearly has to do with "riding," as seen in stanza twelve of the lay "Vafþrúðnismál" of *The Poetic Edda.*

Dr. Leake's book is not only characterized by commendable scholarship, but the wide-ranging material is presented in a very orderly fashion with commensurate readability. Doubtless, her new theory on the identity of the Geats will arouse fresh discussion of the question, and, not unlikely, some controversy on the part of *Beowulf* scholars whose views she questions or rejects. Personally, I find her linguistic argument less than convincing, and her general conclusions too sweeping.

Despite these reservations, I consider the book a noteworthy contribution to the literature on the subject; it is highly informative and stimulating in its fresh approach to the problem. A number of maps and a full index add to its value.

Victoria, British Columbia RICHARD BECK

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DEATH AND LIFE IN THE TENTH CENTURY. By *Eleanor Duckett.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1967. Pp. x, 359. $8.75.)

THOSE who have enjoyed Miss Duckett's *Carolingian Portraits* will find this present volume, which concerns itself with the tenth century, a worthy successor. Written with charm and grace and based upon a real acquaintance with the sources, it tells the story of high politics and scholarship in tenth-century Germany, with some vistas from northern France, Italy, and the papacy. The author, using essentially a biographical approach, introduces us to the monarchs of the period, Charles the Fat, Arnulf, Henry the Fowler, and the three Ottos, and then to churchmen like Archbishop Bruno, Odo of Cluny, and Adalbert of Prague and then on to authors and scholars like Notker, Liutprand of Cremona, Gerbert, and Roswitha. We get the special feel of this period as it appeared to participants in its courts, its scholarship, its art, and its religious institutions. The tenth century on the Continent ends up then not as a dark period but as an age full of life and vigor preparing for the new era that was to emerge immediately thereafter.

It is perhaps unfair to ask more than the rich banquet the author has prepared in this volume for scholarly specialist and general reader alike. But some elements are missing from her picture. We never meet the common man, the peasant, in her pages, and we get no inkling of the economic and demographic changes that were taking place and that have caused Robert Lopez to label this century as one in which a renaissance took place. Nor do we see institutions at work or sense the harshness of the age. Ottonian and papal government are not explained; they are simply assumed to exist in their special form. And so the wise reader, while cherishing this volume, will turn to the *Cambridge Economic History,* Lopez' *Birth of Europe,* or Geoffrey Barraclough's *Origins of Modern Germany* to fill in the gaps left by the author. One further word: one wonders why Duckett omitted from her book an account of Odo's *Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac,* surely one of the most important and revealing biographies of the period. These are mere caveats, however, concerning a book which, like her previous ones, enriches our appreciation of a little-known period of the Middle Ages.

Austin, Texas ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

DÉFRICHEMENTS, PEUPLEMENT ET INSTITUTIONS SEIGNEURIALES EN HAUT-POITOU DU X^{e} AU XIII^{e} SIÈCLE. By *Roland Sanfaçon.* [Les cahiers de l'Institut d'Histoire, Number 9.] (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1967. Pp. xxii, 144, 10 plates. $8.00.)

THIS monographic work by Roland Sanfaçon is a study of such seigneurial records as survive for Haut-Poitou for the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. It is to be added to somewhat similar studies of restricted regions of France by such men as R. Latouche for Maine, G. Duby for the Mâconnaise, G. Fournier for Basse-Auvergne, Ch.-Ed. Perrin for Lorraine, and R. Boutruche for the Bordelais.

On the basis of the Poitevin records, Sanfaçon concludes that the clearing

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of new lands for cultivation was directly related to an increase in population in the eleventh century. He also concludes that the opening up of new lands necessitated that more favorable terms be offered to attract peasants to these lands, and that more liberal conditions on the new lands inevitably forced a kind of easing up of conditions on the old. Hence peasant labor services on domain lands tended to disappear in favor of fixed rents before the thirteenth century.

In spite of this improvement in the condition of peasant labor that he notes, Sanfaçon is not sure that the extension of cultivation at the expense of wooded areas in Haut-Poitou was a good thing for the peasants. The soil of the region is not uniformly rich, and the best lands had already been cleared and placed under cultivation long before the eleventh century. Many of the new fields were on marginal land and, after a few years of use, declined in production or were abandoned. Thus, the ultimate increase in food production was not as great as one would expect, and the disappearance of the wooded areas, with their communal supply of wood, pasturage for certain animals such as pigs, and numerous wild animals to supplement the diet, was a heavy blow to the peasant population. By the end of the twelfth century the remaining wooded areas would be jealously guarded by the seigneurs as hunting preserves, and the peasant was cut off from any common rights he may once have had. Thus, the clearings in many cases may have been unwise, and Sanfaçon sees no general improvement in the actual living condition of the Poitevin peasantry in the period under discussion.

This volume is well presented by the University of Laval Press, and it contains a number of folded end papers—maps plotting the new towns and new castles, maps of the area showing fields under cultivation in the eighteenth century, and aerial maps showing the same fields today. The final conclusion is that patterns of land cultivation established by the end of the thirteenth century have remained virtually unchanged to the present day.

Rice University K. F. Drew

HILDEBERT VON LAVARDIN, 1056–1133: HUMANITAS AN DER SCHWELLE DES HÖFISCHEN ZEITALTERS. By *Peter von Moos.* [Pariser historische Studien, Number 3.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1965. Pp. xv, 412. DM 80.)

Although Hildebert of Lavardin was successively bishop of Le Mans and archbishop of Tours at the beginning of the twelfth century, he is chiefly known as a writer whose poetry and letters were admired and recopied throughout the Middle Ages. Because of the breadth of his activities, scholars have heretofore limited their studies to specific aspects of his writings. For the first time Peter von Moos has offered a synthesis of Hildebert's thought and expression that attempts to encompass the writer as a whole.

It will surprise few that Von Moos sees the bishop primarily as a Christian humanist, both in the narrow sense of admiring classical literature, and in the general sense of proposing a philosophical ideal stressing the importance of man. To explore the former, Von Moos has devoted two initial chapters to Hildebert's

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aesthetic ideals and Latin style, which profit from A. B. Scott's yet unpublished critical edition of the poetry. A final chapter analyzes the bishop's humanistic ideals such as *humanitas, ratio,* and *natura.* Since beautiful writing was never divorced from good conduct in ancient tradition, much of Hildebert's thought concerned ethics. The author has studied general moral themes such as fortune and wisdom, body and soul, the active and contemplative life, and asceticism and moderation, as well as courtly themes such as beneficence, glory, and friendship. A special chapter is devoted to women, marriage, and love. Most of Hildebert's moral thinking followed a long, humanistic tradition and offered little that was new or had immediate practical application. Even when discussing the more mundane problem of rulership, Hildebert followed the standard "mirrors of princes." His discussions of canonical questions involving marriage or the priesthood relied heavily on Ivo of Chartres, the foremost contemporary canonist. Von Moos' study of Hildebert, therefore, will be of greater importance to the historian of literature and philosophy than to the student of politics and institutions. Although the bishop was caught in the struggle between the Count of Le Mans and the Duke of Normandy, and later played a leading role in Anjou, Von Moos adds little to the historical biography sketched by Adolphe Dieudonné in 1898. But in three appendixes Von Moos has refined Dieudonné's dating, authenticating, and editing of the letters, and they will greatly aid the future biographer of Hildebert of Lavardin.

Johns Hopkins University JOHN W. BALDWIN

STORIA DELLE CROCIATE. By *Francesco Cognasso.* [Cultura contemporanea.] ([Milan:] dall'Oglio, Editore. 1967. Pp. 994. L. 5,000.)

THE author begins a few lines of preface with the observation that "questo libro è nato fra i banchi di scuola." It bears the mark of its origin, and is in fact a detailed textbook. Since it is without footnotes, only the professional crusader will recognize any large number of the sources. The bibliography is inadequate almost to the point of uselessness. There is no index, but the strictly chronological treatment of the subject makes it possible for the informed reader to find what he wants. The book is well printed and as a whole carefully proofread although misspelling occasionally produces such oddments as the nonexistent historians Jewdale and Michoud. Typographical errors also occur in dates.

This work abounds in names and dates, but so (alas!) does history. Cognasso provides us with an excellent sketch of the Oriental, Byzantine, and European background to the First Crusade. Indeed, the Oriental and Byzantine sources are throughout exploited fully as much as the Western chroniclers, which gives a satisfying and impartial balance to the book. Although Cognasso gives the reader a glance at the crusades of the fourteenth and later centuries, his work (like Runciman's excellent volumes) virtually comes to an end with the fall of Acre in 1291.

The failure to equip this book with enough notes to direct the reader to the more important and unusual sources is unfortunate, since Cognasso knows the

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texts so well after some forty years of study and teaching. The author is a thoughtful man who asks questions as well as answers them and succeeds in maintaining a high level of factual accuracy on which the reader may rely. But in a book that moves so rapidly over time and space as this one it is easy to find mistakes. Is it not always easy to find mistakes?

Cognasso's references to the Athenian Metropolitan Michael and his brother, the historian Nicetas, as "Acominatus" may be inaccurate. The name Acominatus is actually found at the end of the fifteenth century at least, but Georg Stadtmüller has shown in his dissertation *Michael Choniates* (*Orientalia Christiana,* XXXIII [No. 2, 1934]) that the famous brothers may not have borne it. The Great Khan Mongka seems to have died not in August but in September 1259 (B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* [1966], 41). At the Council of Lyons on July 16, 1274, not one Mongol but three received Christian baptism, "unus ex nunciis Tartarorum *cum duobus sociis*" (Mansi, *Concilia,* XXIV, col. 67). But enough of this.

Cognasso has given us another learned and effective synthesis of the first two centuries of crusading history, this time with full attention to Eastern affairs.

University of Wisconsin KENNETH M. SETTON

SEL'SKOE KHOZIAISTVO NA RUSI V PERIOD OBRAZOVANIIA RUSSKOGO TSENTRALIZOVANNOGO GOSUDARSTVA KONETS XIII–NACHALO XVI V. [The Rural Economy in Russia in the Period of Formation of the Russian Centralized State, from the End of the Thirteenth to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century.] By *G. E. Kochin.* [Leningradskoe Otdelenie Instituta Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1965. Pp. 461.)

WHILE at first glance Professor Kochin's work might appear to interest only economic historians, a more thorough study indicates that it really belongs within the broader framework of that portion of postwar Soviet historiography concerned with the theory of the formation of the centralized Russian state. In that sense this volume is in the nature of an addendum to the writings of such Soviet historians as B. D. Grekov, S. B. Veselovskii, and L. V. Cherepnin, who have contributed to the development of the centralization theory. The extent to which the views of those historians have become accepted in current Soviet Russian historiography can be understood best by the fact that Kochin has not found it necessary to preface his work with an apologia for his subject by making obeisance to the views of Marx and Lenin, as his predecessors felt compelled to do.

Aside from the first chapter, which follows the standard Soviet historical pattern of expounding the "bourgeois" and socialist historiographical interpretations of the subject, the remaining chapters largely describe agriculture, cattle raising, rural industries, and peasant-landlord relations from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

This work covers an important period in the evolution of Russian agriculture. The Tatar invasions, which disrupted the whole economy and devastated

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many of the earlier agricultural settlements in the south and west, necessitated migrations to new settlements in the northern forest region. That shift in the area of settlement had a profound effect upon the rural economy and eventually led to the adoption of new plows, new ideas on fallowing, and the three-field system, together with the more frequent use of fertilizers. Kochin discusses those changes in detail.

The final chapter ("The Peasantry and the Feudal Landholders, Their Contacts and Mutual Relations") provides Kochin with the opportunity to relate his work to that of the historians mentioned earlier. For some this may be the least satisfactory chapter because of its ideological insistence, but that should not deter one from discovering there a body of significant information. For example, the lengthy discussion of the "black lands" serves as a useful complement to Jerome Blum's discussion of the "black people" in his *Lord and Peasant in Russia.*

Aside from an extensive use of the published sources made available in great quantities since World War II, Kochin has employed various unpublished materials from archives in state libraries, museums, and academies. It is strange, however, that he has used relatively little periodical literature. While the book contains a useful index, together with a number of interesting illustrations of rural activities and agricultural implements taken from contemporary manuscripts, there is no map, bibliography, or glossary.

University of Houston R. F. Drew

THE SHERWOOD FOREST BOOK. Edited by *Helen E. Boulton.* [Thoroton Society Record Series, Volume XXIII.] (Nottingham: Derry and Sons for the Society. 1965. Pp. viii, 212.)

This very careful and competent edition of the earliest extant forest book relating to Sherwood was probably compiled in the late fourteenth century. It contains, as do all forest books, copies of statutes and ordinances, perambulations of forest bounds, inquisitions, examples of writs, chapters of regard, and extracts from the forest eyres. In her introduction Miss Boulton discusses the provenance of the book, the original of which is now in the Public Record Office, and its relationship to fourteen other extant forest books on Sherwood, each of which she describes in considerable detail. She gives most of her introduction to describing these books and their relationship to each other, and the rest of her introduction to the description, provenance, and history of the book edited. She does not discuss the contents of the forest books, although she does state in her preface that she expects to publish a paper elsewhere on the history of Sherwood.

The volume contains an excellent index, two good maps, and numerous helpful notes, identifying documents and persons, giving cross references, and so on. It is a scholarly edition of an important document and will be very useful to students of forest history.

William Woods College Isabel R. Abbott

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THE FLORENTINE GALLEYS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. By *Michael E. Mallett.* With *The Diary of Luca di Maso degli Albizzi, Captain of the Galleys, 1429–1430.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 293. $11.20.)

FROM 1421 to 1480 the city of Florence attempted to keep upon the waters a fleet of communally owned galleys. They were primarily intended, the author believes, to give the Arno city (and the large area of Tuscany it then commanded) assured contact with great markets for cloth, especially in northern Europe. They were also to provide Florentine industries with abundant wool, silks, and dyes from foreign suppliers. Quite clearly inspired by the Venetian system of government-owned galleys, the Florentine imitation never attained comparable success. In some few years as many as ten galleys displayed the Florentine lilies along the Mediterranean and Atlantic routes; for many more years, no galleys at all set sail. The ships never achieved a regular and reliable schedule of voyages that might have made them a major buttress of the Florentine economy.

Mallett tells the history of this venturous failure with admirable thoroughness. He has explored archives in Italy, Spain, and England. His diligent search led him to uncover the diary of Luca di Maso degli Albizzi, a captain of the galleys in 1429–1430. The diary is really a ship's log, and it gives a vivid description of a round trip to England. Mallett embellishes his study, and the edition of the diary, with impressive erudition. He describes the technical design of the galleys and explains the administrative institutions that governed them; he records their trips and gives a detailed summary of principal routes; he has hunted down and identified many names of obscure ports and obscure weights and measures. This is a useful book, not only for what the author has discovered concerning the galleys themselves, but for the information he has amassed concerning Mediterranean maritime travel in the fifteenth century.

Mallett also discusses the reasons for the failure of the Florentine galley system, and these explanations seem less satisfying. The galleys, he concludes rather lamely, declined because "they had outlived their usefulness." They were intended, he argues, not really to yield a profit but to provide assured communications with distant markets and suppliers. By the late fifteenth century, foreign shippers were thoughtfully meeting this need, and the Florentines could retire, as if in relief, from the unfriendly waters. But he has no proof that contact with distant markets was in any way uncertain or a cause for concern in 1421, nor really any proof that the galleys were not intended initially to make money. He seems to be missing a larger problem here. In the Middle Ages Tuscany, with its chief ports of Pisa and Porto Pisano, was a foremost maritime region. By the sixteenth century Tuscan shipping in the Mediterranean was routed by foreign competition, especially from the English. Why did this happen? What were the disadvantages under which Tuscan shipping generally, and the galley system in particular, labored in comparison with foreign carriers? On these questions, Mallett's book, for all its excellent qualities, says almost nothing.

University of Wisconsin DAVID HERLIHY

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ENEA SILVIO PICCOLOMINI UND DIE JURISPRUDENZ. By *Guido Kisch*. (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn. 1967. Pp. 123. 20 fr. S.)

GUIDO Kisch contributed the substance of this book to a meeting, held in Siena, memorializing the year the "humanist Pope" died. In keeping with a major interest, Kisch chose to investigate Aeneas' attitude toward the jurisprudence of his day.

It had been a commonplace, especially since Voigt, to consider Aeneas the sworn foe of jurisprudence, and substantiation of this was found in certain of Aeneas' statements of abhorrence for the legal profession. But Kisch found several reasons for qualifying this opinion. For one thing, Aeneas, like most humanists, regarded the substance of the law as necessary for society, and therefore he did not attack the Scholastic substance as taught in the universities. Aeneas and the humanists in general warred, however, against the Scholastic dissociation of law from the liberal studies. The author, perhaps to save space, does not mention that Aeneas' older contemporary, the famous Vittorino da Feltre, considered the *studia humanitatis* a fitting undergraduate preparation for the professional study of law, as well as of medicine and theology. Devotion to liberal studies is eloquently described in Aeneas' "Preface to the Commentaries" on things done in the Council of Basel, included in the first appendix. Two years later (1442) he was crowned poet laureate by the Emperor, the first so honored in the North. The diploma appears in Appendix II. Trained in law, he received invitations to give speeches before faculties of law. His laureateship helped not only to give him entree but also to find a favorable response to his message of the *studia humanitatis* as prerequisite for jurisprudence. Where but in literature would the jurist get a vivid conception of the meaning and importance of equity? Aeneas' "In Praise of Literary Studies" (a letter to Stein) is given in full in Appendix III. It is shown to have been influenced by Lorenzo Valla's famous attack against the law professors of Pavia. Kisch's study confirms the findings of recent scholarship (that is, of Professor Kristeller) on the humanistic attitude toward Scholasticism.

Grand Valley State College QUIRINUS BREEN

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE HISTORY. Volume IV. Edited by *William M. Bowsky*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1967. Pp. 243. $7.95.)

THE intent of this series is to present "original major articles and short monographs in all fields of medieval and renaissance history." This volume contains the following four monographs: Everett U. Crosby, "The Organization of the English Episcopate under Henry I"; Charles L. Tipton, "The English Hospitallers during the Great Schism"; Joseph R. Berrigan, "Benzo d'Alessandria and the Cities of Northern Italy"; William M. Bowsky, "Medieval Citizenship: The Individual and the State in the Commune of Siena, 1287–1355."

The article by Crosby, with its extensive appendixes, presents most fully all the available evidence for the period concerned. There are remarkably few

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typographical errors or errors of any kind, and this is characteristic of the other articles in this collection. The only weaknesses of the article are the slight concern with the ramifications and settlement of the investiture conflict in England during Henry's reign, the little attention paid to Henry's policies within and without England that may well have had bearing upon his relations and treatment of the episcopacy, and the failure to place the episcopal situation in England in its proper perspective with the same situation elsewhere. These strictures may, however, go beyond the scope intended by the author.

Tipton's article presents and proves substantially a revision of two commonplaces: that the Hospitalers sided with the pope, supported by the ruler in whose kingdom they resided, and that this is an evidence of nationalistic tendencies within the Universal Church and, by implication, within the various states themselves in the late fourteenth century. By employing the inadequately mined sources, particularly the archives housed at Malta, Tipton has discovered the necessary documentation for his thesis.

Berrigan's study is chiefly an edition of the Ambrosian MS. of the *Chronicon* of Benzo d'Alessandria without any attempt to correct the scribal errors.

The last article, by Bowsky, is, as he describes it, a pilot study on the condition of citizenship in the late Middle Ages in a particular Italian city-state, Siena, drawn from all the extant archives. His conclusion, that there is a gradual drawing together of the various forms of citizenship into a generally defined one by the mid-fourteenth century, is not intended to be generally applied. The argument is clear and persuasive.

The general impression of this volume of monographs, then, is that it makes a substantial contribution toward clarifying little-understood or little-exploited areas in the highly complex mosaic of the Middle Ages.

Emory University FRANCIS S. BENJAMIN, JR.

STUDI DI STORIA ECONOMICA. Volume III. By *Armando Sapori*. [Biblioteca storica Sansoni, New Series, Number 43.] (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, Editore. [1967.] Pp. xv, 726. L. 10,000.)

SHORT historical papers and essays bear to history books much the same relation as short stories to novels: though they may contain some of the author's most original and valuable writing, they are hard to find and seldom get an adequate share of attention until and unless they are collected in a volume. Historians, however, are apt to postpone indefinitely what short-story writers usually do as soon as they come across a willing publisher: they will not let go a second time an essay that has not been brought up to date, or developed into a fuller study, or pruned of passages that also appear in another essay and another context. We must be grateful to Armando Sapori, the dean of Italian economic historians of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, for waiving the quest for perfection and collecting his unrevised short papers. Thirty-eight of them formed the first two volumes of his *Studi di storia economica* (1955); a third volume (1967) contains forty additional ones. The average size is thus shorter than in the earlier volumes, and some critical reviews have been included besides independent research papers. But there are several long essays, such as "Medioevo e Rinasci-

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mento" (Sapori belongs to the growing number of historians who place the high point of Italian premodern economics in the later Middle Ages rather than in the Renaissance), and "Cambiamento di mentalità del grande operatore economico" (dealing with another aspect of the same problem); and some of the briefest papers, such as a four-page article on rent control in the Florentine shops, are highly important contributions.

Space forbids a full analysis of the contents of the valuable volume, whose consultation is made easier by an excellent index. The core, as one would expect, is devoted to the economic and social history of Tuscany between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century, Sapori's preferred field of investigation, but the picture often extends to the rest of Italy and the whole of Europe, and there are some loving portraits of deceased historians.

Yale University ROBERT SABATINO LOPEZ

Modern Europe

ASPECTS DES RELATIONS RUSSO-ROUMAINES: RÉTROSPECTIVES ET ORIENTATIONS. ÉTUDES. By *George Cioranesco et al.* (Paris: Diffusion Minard. 1967. Pp. 276. 38 fr.)

THE reassertion by the Rumanian Communist regime of Rumania's "historic rights" to Bessarabia and northern Bucovina has generated stormy polemics among revisionists, dogmatists, and nationalists. Russian historians and politicians, and their friends in the Soviet bloc, have taken to task their Rumanian comrades for reopening a sealed Pandora's box. Communist Rumanian historians and politicians, with the support of such diverse anti-Soviet protagonists as Mao Tse-tung, the Iron Guard, and the Rumanian emigration, have cautiously but firmly adhered to the view that Bessarabia and northern Bucovina were historically Rumanian territories unlawfully seized by the USSR in 1940 following the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement. Less cautious, and less historical, is the anti-Russian case as presented by the group of *émigré* historians, political scientists, and political economists represented in this volume.

Aspects des relations russo-roumaines is, in the authors' own words, "not a historical treatise." The seven contributors have rather sought to present "as objectively as possible" the historical evidence that would justify Rumania's claims for restitution of the lost territories. The individual chapters, ranging from a restatement of some of the more doubtful theses on Rumanian prehistory to a modest proposal for returning Bessarabia and northern Bucovina without prejudicing Russia's vital interests in Eastern Europe, are generally informative and well conceived. Unfortunately they are but vaguely related to one another. Radu Florescu's excellent chapter on the problems of navigation on the Danube in the 1830's and 1840's is conceptually divorced from Nicoara Neculce's three-page essay on the "Genesis of the Bessarabian Problem" that precedes it, and it has no immediate relevance to the lengthy political treatment of "Soviet-Rumanian Relations" that follows it. Similarly, Dionisie Ghermani's brief analysis of the "nationalization" of Rumanian Communist doctrine is at best superfi-

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cially connected to the outline of the political actions of the Rumanian Communist regime pertinent to the possible recouping of the lost territories.

These shortcomings may be ascribed to the haste with which the volume was compiled. A few of the essays were completed in April 1967, two months before the actual publication date. There is no evidence of any editing of the individual contributions. Presumably, the essays had to be published in book form before the end of the fiscal year. The Bessarabian crisis is neither serious enough nor urgent enough to warrant such precipitous action. It is regrettable that the often important and valuable data contained in this book were not integrated into a meaningful historical treatise or at least into a coherent collection of related studies.

University of Colorado STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

DER FRIEDE VON VERVINS 1598. By *Arthur Erwin Imhof*. (Aarau: Keller Verlag. 1966. Pp. 316.)

IN the long struggle between the French and the Habsburg kings for hegemony in Western Europe the tide finally began to turn in France's favor in 1598. The Treaty of Vervins represented a success that, remarkably, came less than nine years after Henry IV's accession to a tottering throne, threatened by enemies at home and abroad. The miracle of internal recovery, symbolized by the Edict of Nantes a few weeks before Vervins, was made more miraculous by the simultaneous expulsion of the invading Spaniards.

Dr. Imhof provides a detailed account of the negotiations that led to this triumph. He shows that it was not military victory, but the war weariness of Philip II and Archduke Albert, that gave the French the advantage. The dying King of Spain wanted to end his reign in peace; he was prepared to negotiate even with Holland and England. Albert was determined to preserve his rule in the Low Countries, and he feared disaster if he had to maintain a two-front war with chronically inadequate resources. The Habsburgs were therefore willing to withdraw from the border towns they had captured, including Calais, without a struggle. It was harder to embrace the Dutch and English in the treaty, but when difficulties arose Henry IV was perfectly happy to abandon his allies and keep his own gains. A few other matters, such as French designs on Saluzzo, had to be left in abeyance, but their principal goals—the end of the invasion and a return to the 1559 boundary—were achieved. Imhof remarks that Spain, too, benefited simply by obtaining peace, however temporary. The real defeat had been the Edict of Nantes, because Philip had hoped that Henry's conversion, though ending Spanish ambitions, might at least serve Catholic ends.

Ecclesiastical mediation, particularly the intervention of the tireless general of the Franciscans, Caltagirone, was crucial in bringing the antagonists together. The papacy, though hoping to unite both sides in a crusade against the Turks, was markedly pro-French; its old fight against Habsburg power in Italy had resumed when Henry IV's conversion ended Catholicism's total reliance on Spain. What is significant is that Rome's influence at a major treaty negotiation was now being exercised effectively for the last time, and that papal diplomacy

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was entering its last, feverish decades as a force on the international scene—two subjects which, regrettably, receive no attention in this book.

Imhof's documentation is exhaustive, his research exemplary. The day-to-day developments appear in full detail, and occasionally some of the protagonists come to life, as, for example, in Henry IV's dry comment when Albert, the former cardinal, performed pitifully in a small skirmish: "If he came as a soldier, he returned as a priest." Although the definitive account of the Vervins negotiations has now been written, the absence of an index seriously mars the book, and the bibliography ignores much recent work. The most fundamental question, however, is whether three hundred pages are needed for so narrowly confined a subject, whose wider implications for the history of the period remain largely unsuspected and untouched.

Princeton University THEODORE K. RABB

RELIGION AND REGIME: A SOCIOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE REFORMATION. By *Guy E. Swanson.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1967. Pp. x, 295. $7.50.)

Religion and Regime is an attempt to relate the success or failure of the Reformation, here perceived ideologically, to the political sociology of the various relevant areas of Europe: to this end, Mr. Swanson distributes governments among five categories ("Centralist," "Limited Centralist," "Balanced," "Commensal," and "Heterarchic"), roughly corresponding to a scale running from rejection of the Reformation to enthusiastic embrace of it. The author is a sociologist whose earlier work was an analysis of belief in fifty primitive societies; his professional experience may in part account for what seems, to the historian, the singular irrelevance of this book. Anthropologists, especially the chic structuralists, are accustomed to abstract from divergent and often very scattered data some pattern of ideas or ideology, some *Weltanschauung,* often very metaphysical, by which a society seems to be organized or to organize itself. Thus, from a mass of heterogeneous documentary, oral, and observational "evidence," the governing ideas of a tribe, a group, or a civilization are often drawn. For primitive societies, where, one is led to believe, a fairly uncritical acceptance of custom prevails, this method is undoubtedly often valid, or as good as is available; in a period like the Reformation, remarkable for the degree of self-consciousness and self-criticism displayed by believers, this method is open to serious question. Swanson argues, in his first two chapters, for the idea of immanence as the doctrinal hinge on which the door to Reformation did or did not swing. Though it is true, I think, that the Deity became less and less immanent in His believers' view of Him and His universe, it is an error in method to select this particular idea as crucial. Of the many ideas of deity so bitterly argued in the period, the notion of immanence is not one. Of course it is possible to say, from an extremely elevated and distant viewpoint of vision—say, the Ptolemaically placed planet Saturn—that the idea of immanence declined in the early modern period; it certainly did, but it did so in Catholic countries as well as in areas ultimately Protestant. The issue of consubstantiation and transubstantiation is unquestionably important, but it is important also for its singularity; in an

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indwelt universe, the question need not arise at all. To select immanence as the key concept for this revolution in ideas is like selecting the idea of the four elements, or the idea of phlogiston, and demonstrating their absence in twentieth-century thought. This is a matter of context, and Swanson's context seems very much his own structure and not one familiar to, or congruent with, the historian's view of the period.

Such a divergence may of course be a merit; thus it is worth looking at the method of this book in relation to historical method, with all its faults and deficiencies. For the historian, this book's political categorization seems arbitrary and faulty, schematic to a degree that falsifies the conditions as they were. For scholars accustomed to working in the detailed data of mutability, the freezing of a political area, seen over a length of time, into one pattern, seems a sin not only against method but also against plain truth. In the Reformation, a period of history in which the hither boundary is very uneven (and in this book quite undefined) and in which social, economic, political, and intellectual mutability is the major problem, pigeonholing, fixing, and schematizing seem especially irritating and, though they mean to simplify, confusing. This method also seems to imply a one-way relation between environment and ideas, whereas the intellectual, the nonintellectual, or the unintellectual historian is likely to jib at any such assumption. In the case of the areas I know something about (England, France, the United Netherlands, and the Spanish Netherlands), the significant point about the period in question is the evolution in relation to each other of political and religious institutions and of political and religious ideas, even ideologies. This book offers us a Reformation stiffened into pageantry, as if each particular regional struggle had been assigned its part, or, in Reformation terms, had been predestined, by the political structure in which it took place. I oversimplify a bit. Where the areas categorized are particularly intransigent in their category, Swanson makes interesting distinctions and very interesting attempts to account for differences. What is irritating is the solemnity with which political structure is treated as a part of religious ideology, but otherwise unrelated to actual conditions. After all, it is not only because of their political structure that Italian city-states, the Papal States, and other principalities remained Catholic. There are extrinsic reasons why Antwerp remained Catholic and Amsterdam did not.

As is often the case in studies of this sort, the author has drawn on much comparative material, particularly in syncretic studies of religion—classical religions, Islam, Judaism, and others—to make telling points of contrast with the European situation. In his analyses of early modern thought, however, the author seems to have had recourse to no original source, save where a passage was quoted in the critical or summary works of scholars. In a survey of European political institutions, one may grant that the primary sources often seem more quelling than *Quellen:* pipe rolls, *cahiers,* procès-verbaux, even official acts and ordinances do not characteristically yield data on the structures within which they were developed; but not to have read the writings of the greater and lesser reformers, nor to have looked at the sermons, tracts, and pamphlets of the various Reformation critical debates means that it is all too easy to redraw the issues into an *ur*-form more intelligible to anthropologists today than to com-

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batants of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even the various councils and synods would, I think, have provided a short form of the complex issues as understood and defined at the time, but Swanson has not used these, either. In the case of the chapters devoted to Reformation political institutions, I must add that the authorities relied on are very uneven: for a nonhistorian, Swanson is remarkably widely read, but an account of the United Provinces that relies exclusively and fairly equally on Vlekke, Geyl, and Boxer is by definition insufficient and naïve.

My objections to this work are unwillingly expressed, because of the great enlightenment I have had from the work of sociologists and of sociological historians. If one may venture a generalization, I should say that historians are more likely to receive enlightenment from works in sociological history or historical sociology, which rely as well on empirical evidence as on theory. I think of the work of Charles Tilly, Elinor Barber, and J. Jean Hecht, for example. Pure structures, like this one, too often appear to the workaday, archive-bound, narrow historian to be castles in Spain, or even in the air.

Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford ROSALIE L. COLIE

BREMISCH-VERDISCHE STAATSFINANZEN, 1645–1676: DIE SCHWEDISCHE KRONE ALS DEUTSCHE LANDESHERRIN. By *Klaus-Richard Böhme.* [Scandinavian University Books. Studia Historica Upsaliensia, Number 26.] ([Stockholm:] Svenska Bokförlaget/Nordstedts. 1967. Pp. 599. S. Kr. 94.)

THIS book deals with the organization and exploitation of two German territories in the last years of and the first decades after the Thirty Years' War. Their conqueror and master was Sweden, and their fate, described in the book, presents a case of intra-European colonialism. Bremen and Verden were made to pay a large part of the bill for Scandinavian power policy, one of those historical episodes one must know in order to understand virulent nineteenth-century German nationalism. The work is based on stupendous knowledge of pertinent Swedish and German archival sources, yet it is hardly a satisfactory performance. The author's ability to unearth historical material is not matched by his skill in presenting it.

The work has resulted in an empiricistic accumulation of facts and figures that no one can digest since they are not held together by any guiding idea. As usual in such cases the writer allows no time to consider the historical significance of what he has produced. He tries neither to explain his material nor to see it against a broader background. Only in the rarest cases does he bring it to life by comparison with other contemporary events and processes. (He does do this, however, where he describes the newly introduced Swedish administrative organization.)

Typical of the way in which the material is handled by the author is the description of the loans that Count Königsmarck, the German-born Swedish general, made to the Swedish crown after the great war. This is very interesting and obviously reliably presented. But, again, the author does not understand its historical significance, and no nonspecialized reader will be able to grasp its

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importance. Actually, the author describes what was a typical case. At the end of the Thirty Years' War most European princes were ruined, but some of their generals and colonels, that is, the military enterprisers, who had raised and commanded troops in their service, had by fair and foul means amassed fortunes and now became creditors of their former employers.

The summary makes it abundantly clear that the factual basis is too small for a superstructure of 489 pages plus 51 pages of tables. The book is comparable to a magazine in which a lot of more or less valuable goods are stored. Let us hope that well-informed historians will come along who will use what is made available. Since no inventory in the form of a subject index is provided—a minimum requirement for books of this sort—many will pass it over, and it will be difficult for the rest.

Belmont, Massachusetts FRITZ REDLICH

ENGLAND AND THE FRONDE: THE IMPACT OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR AND REVOLUTION ON FRANCE. By *Philip A. Knachel.* [Folger Monographs on Tudor and Stuart Civilization.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library. 1967. Pp. xi, 312. $7.00.)

THE *Fronde* has long been the despair of historians who seek a rational explanation for the disorders of 1648–1652, as well as of those who believe that somehow the irrationalities of history can be described and understood. Dr. Knachel has attempted to explain the impact of the English Revolution upon the *Fronde.* In doing this he has had to deal with the complexities of the internal problems in France as well as with the international situation in Europe, or at least with the interrelations of the states using the Channel. Thus the problems of the parlements, of the noble *Frondeurs,* of the Princes of Orléans and Condé, of the court, and those of the English revolutionary government as well as of the exiled court of Charles II, and of the states of Spain and the United Netherlands all merge in this narrative. It is not surprising that, in an attempt to deal with an orchestration of this magnitude, some of the nuances occasionally are missed. Knachel's discussion of this matrix of events is well done, and yet it falls apart into a series of monographs more or less related to each other but without a central theme. Perhaps no other solution is possible for it may well be that any "central theme" for a book like this would be a "realist" solution that would do violence to the available evidence.

Knachel has given us an account of the French court's knowledge of the events in England leading up to the execution of the King. At several points he seems unnecessarily critical of Mazarin for not giving Charles more aid at the time when the French were heavily engaged in both Germany and the Netherlands. He develops an excellent picture of the French public's knowledge of the English problems and follows it with an analysis of the use made of this information in the *Mazarinades.* The rest of the book is largely concerned with the diplomatic and military problems created by the factions in both England and France and their relations to the other powers in Europe. His discussion of the naval warfare, both declared and undeclared, as well as of the nice mixture of

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piracy and privateering, provides an excellent illustration of the status of international law and security at sea. From there he moves on to the interchanges that finally led to the alliance between Cromwell and Mazarin.

The scholarly apparatus of this book is impressive. Knachel has consulted the important monographs; he knows the printed collections of documents and letters; he has extensively used the pamphlets and other contemporary materials that have survived to us. He has also spent much time in the manuscript room of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Public Record Office where he used the transcripts from the series *Angleterre* taken from the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Had he also consulted the series *Hollande Pays-bas* he would not have missed the French-Dutch problem that may have been responsible for Mazarin's unwillingness to become involved in war with England during Cromwell's war on the Dutch. In any case, however, this is a good study, a welcome addition to the growing shelf of books written by scholars from the United States dealing with seventeenth-century France.

University of Illinois, Chicago Circle JOHN B. WOLF

LECTURES ON EUROPEAN HISTORY, 1789–1914: MEN, MACHINES AND FREEDOM. By *John McManners*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. viii, 420. $7.00.)

JOHN McManners has written a textbook for undergraduate students on European history from 1789 to 1914. The book is aptly called "lectures," and it successfully recaptures the immediacy, liveliness, and zest of the lectures of an apparently very gifted teacher. The book lacks a bibliography, an index, and illustrations or charts to which we have become accustomed in American textbooks. On the other hand it abounds in apt quotations and avoids the dullness often connected with textbooks. Nor is it as detailed and systematic in its presentation as a similar American textbook would be; it is not a compendium of facts to be looked up or memorized but an effort to present the great outline so that even a tired student body might gladly listen.

The book is well balanced: it allows two hundred pages to the period from 1789 to 1848 and the same amount to the equally long period from 1850 to 1914. It thus avoids the mistake of "contemporaneity" from which much of our teaching suffers. McManners appears to be a student of French history. His interpretation of Napoleon's character is brilliant, and, I believe, as correct as any approach to a very complex individuality can be. In such a book, which compresses more than a century into four hundred pages, there are many minor points where one may disagree with the author. Did Herder prefer his native language as against French or was it his greatness to prefer any native language (even the Slav peasant languages) over Latin, French, or German? Was the "trim steel-plated Prussian battleship" really so much better than the "worm-eaten Austrian galleon"? Was there no fundamental weakness in Bismarck's Germany, resulting from the way it was created and Bismarck's domestic policy? In any case, both ships went down in 1918, worm-eaten or not, and this downfall was partly due to Bismarck's annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and to his system of

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alliances. But generally McManners' judgments, briskly stated, have much to recommend them. Though, like most textbooks, relying generally on secondary sources—and, among them, on those written in English or French—the book is so well written and the arguments so intelligently presented that the book should be recommended not only to college students but to the general public.

The book begins and ends with general reflections on men, machines, and freedom. Machines and freedom have made great progress between 1789 and 1914. How far man has progressed is difficult to say. When war broke out in 1914, the two great forces nominally celebrating peace—Socialism, then barely one hundred years in existence, and Christianity, which by then had existed for almost nineteen centuries—were equally helpless. Yet since the seventeenth century in England and since Rousseau in France, men longed for personal fulfillment in freedom, and this meant more than well-being. It meant the right to share in political rule and, "in a paradoxical fashion susceptible of varying interpretations, to give only voluntary obedience." In a concluding sentence McManners sums up his evaluation of the European nineteenth century as "fecund in a fashion never seen before . . . the belief that man is rational and that by the exercise of reason he can master both his environment and his passions, and achieve true freedom."

University of Texas HANS KOHN

THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW. By *R. F. Delderfield*. (New York: Atheneum. 1967. Pp. 256. $5.95.)

Nor just the retreat but the whole Russian campaign is the subject of Mr. Delderfield's vivid, many-scened description. The author is a playwright and novelist as well as a military historian. His book is full of participants' adventures, skillfully interwoven from numerous memoirs. There are no Russian sources, not even Tarlé, and few traces of recent French scholarship. Little is said, and what is proves debatable, about the larger diplomatic picture, but there are some interesting ideas, such as that Napoleon could have guaranteed his eastern frontiers for a generation if he had built up a truly independent Poland. Delderfield is careful about the pros and cons of Napoleon's decision not to use his famous Guard at Borodino, eight hundred miles from home, but is critical of the caution that he thinks overestimated Kutuzov's will to resist a more southerly retreat through unplundered and possibly warmer territory. A major factor in the French disaster was the supply failure; the long life line was uncut, but supply wagons and depots emptied too fast owing to peculation and loss of discipline. During the retreat, Marshal Bertier kept the cavalry ahead so that the foot soldiers could eat the horses as they succumbed. Captain Roeder was one of many who searched dead comrades for hoarded food scraps. There were women among the camp followers, and at least one child was born during the retreat. A number of Russian serfs died trying to follow the French to freedom. Marshal Ney was the hero of the retreat, but others, including Napoleon himself, showed their qualities when the going was roughest.

Delderfield admires the Emperor, "born into the eighteenth century with a twentieth-century brain," and supplements this puzzling description with a

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number of other opinions. He writes that "if it had not been for him the growth of democratic government throughout Europe would have been much slower and probably just as expensive in blood." Of Russia's increased role in European affairs after 1812 the author goes so far as to say: "Only one man foresaw this more than a century and a half ago and he destroyed himself putting theory into practice." Such interpretations as these are not numerous and not documented or argued systematically; indeed, they are scarcely arguable in their present form. Fortunately they do not interfere with the splendidly told story.

Swarthmore College PAUL H. BEIK

THE SERBS AND RUSSIAN PAN-SLAVISM, 1875–1878. By *David MacKenzie*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 365. $10.00.)

THERE is much to be said for the proposition that Pan-Slavism never existed. Certainly the specter of an aggressive Russia seeking to bring all Slavs under its domination was a myth created by Russophobes in London, Vienna, and Berlin and perpetuated by diplomatic historians, some of whom have shared that Russophobia. MacKenzie's book drives into that myth a wedge of serious scholarly opposition, and for this most students of nineteenth-century Europe will be grateful. Russia, when the occasion demanded (and it often did), abandoned the Slavs with scarcely a backward glance, and some serious, respected historians maintain that, had it but done this again in 1914. . . .

The book traces in great detail the Serbian and Montenegrin positions during the crisis of 1875–1878; this is the first time that the small states have received such extensive, careful treatment in a Western language. Though the work is based upon an analysis of a wide variety of Russian, Yugoslav, and Western materials, there is less utilization of the archives than might be expected in a book that took, we are told, a decade to complete. It is puzzling, for example, why MacKenzie makes frequent use of the German publication *Das Staatsarchiv* when he was in a position to consult the original documents. Further, it is not clear why he did not consult the unpublished papers of the Serbian liberal Vladimir Jovanović. And, incidentally, the majority of his citations of the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv lack any identification of the *Abteilung* involved.

MacKenzie has made good use of the Serbian, Montenegrin, and Russian press. His scholarly attempt to determine what constituted public opinion in the Balkans and Russia is one of the strongest points of this eminently useful work.

The principal characters are carefully drawn. No one knows Cherniaev as well as MacKenzie, and now it must be said that few have so perceptively discussed Milan and Nikola. Gorchakov is captured nicely, as are the Russian diplomats in the Balkans, but the attempt to make even a second-rate statesman out of Ristić is not quite convincing.

The book is not well written. Its excellent organization and generally scrupulous objectivity (there are serious lapses on pages 217 and 297) partially compensate for the lack of literary grace, but the melodramatic clichés, misplaced commas, and awkward constructions remain.

The above critical comments on matters of detail and opinion cannot detract

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from this fact: MacKenzie's book ranks with those of Čubrilović, Ekmečić, Harris, and others as one of the best on the Balkan crisis.

University of Virginia WOODFORD D. MCCLELLAN

L'EUROPE DE 1900 À 1914. By *Maurice Baumont et al.* [L'histoire du xx^e siècle.] (Paris: Éditions Sirey. 1966. Pp. 476. 40 fr.)

NORMALLY it is hazardous to make judgments about a fragment of some as yet undisclosed larger work. Apparently this volume is the first of what will be sixteen on the twentieth century. Most will deal separately with continents or major political units; four will treat of the two world wars. The structure, organization, and content of these future installments may well differ fundamentally from what one finds in this book. But it is unlikely that later volumes will directly complement the themes covered here. And so it may be permissible to comment on this work in isolation.

It consists of three uneven parts: the first, and by far the longest section, by Maurice Baumont, recounts political and diplomatic events; the second, and shortest section, by Raymond Isay, presents a rapid survey of thought, literature, science, and the arts; the third section, by Henry Germain-Martin, analyzes demography, agriculture, industry, commerce, and finance and includes summary pages on the social question. This is obviously the kind of plan and approach to the history of Europe that seems more characteristic of histories written several generations ago than of current studies. And the content of the three sections similarly reflects a general point of view about the writing of history from which historians in our times have tended to take their leave.

Nevertheless, Baumont's nearly three hundred pages afford a sound, detailed account of major national political happenings and of the course of international relations down to the war. Without any social scientific conceptions showing, he gives an authoritative reading of Europe on the long last evening of its hegemony, piece by piece, country by country, alliance by alliance, sometimes statesman by statesman. Dispassionate and replete with illuminating quotations from various actors on this stage, this major portion of the book is an excellent work that will be useful to students and a convenient mine for the digging out of lectures by teachers. It is safe to say that no surprises lie in wait for scholars, unless it is the mild astonishment of coming upon this finished late example of a variety of history now largely in eclipse. At its best, it is admirable; at its most quaint, it devotes a total of five and a half lines to Switzerland, characterizing it as an orderly multinational country where official honors go only to the level-headed.

Isay's cultural pages have something of this incidental intelligence quality about them. Seeming more dutiful than convinced about finding themselves in this particular book, they make interesting reading in a disembodied sort of way, but they also leave one with the distinct impression that European culture was then, at least, a phenomenon located between the Atlantic and the Rhine.

On the other hand, Germain-Martin's economic section casts a wide net, being both informative and full, especially on the ramifications of European finance. The eight pages devoted to social movements are, by contrast, more

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than a little taxed to cover the subject.

Bibliographical listings are uncritical but lengthy, revealing omissions that would perhaps seem evident in North America, as well as an acquaintance with much contemporary scholarship in both English and French. The index is, here and there, happily analytical.

University of Toronto JOHN C. CAIRNS

ROSA LUXEMBURG. By *J. P. Nettl.* In two volumes. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 450; viii, 452–984. $20.20 the set.)

ROSA Luxemburg was among the last of the truly international revolutionaries, owing her civic allegiance to the proletariat of all countries and to the governments of none. For the first time she has found a biographer with the skill as well as the will to accept her multinational existence as the principle of his research. Professor Nettl has pursued with equal vigor Polish and German sources, published and unpublished, written and oral. He has been strengthened in his work by the contributions of modern Polish scholarship to socialist history, most of which have not yet been assimilated by Western historians. The result is a substantial enlargement of our knowledge, especially of Rosa Luxemburg as a person: her mode of life, her tastes, her friendships, and her loves. Her aesthetic preferences emerge as surprisingly classical for a *passionaria:* Goethe over Schiller, Grillparzer over Hebbel, Korolenko and Tolstoi over Dostoevski! We learn for the first time of the vicissitudes of Rosa's affair with the masterful Leo Jogiches, her co-worker in the antinationalist branch of Polish Social Democracy. Above all, Nettl offers us politically illuminating materials on Rosa's relations with her small, changing circles of intimate collaborators: first the defenders of Marxist orthodoxy, later the founders of the new left in German Social Democracy. The degree to which many of these played parts in Polish and Russian as well as German affairs emerges with new concreteness.

Would that this biography contributed as much to our understanding as it does to our knowledge! Nettl, in his zeal to avoid "the carefully engineered conclusions of most social scientists and historians," has committed himself to a chronicle that "moves simultaneously on several levels." His method of presentation aims to capture the life experience of his subject as it unfolds, with the author providing random commentary en route, so that the reader may "participate in the acquisition of knowledge, instead of having it served up like cold joint." The difficulty is that so many "levels" are introduced at once, in chapters without clear direction, in section after section without pause for reflective assessment of general meaning, that the reader finds himself for the most part wallowing rudderless in heavy and uncharted seas. It comes as a moment of wondrous clarification when, in Volume II, Chapter XII, the author pauses to recapitulate. At last he sets forth a real historical *Gestalt:* a structured exposition of three phases in the development of Luxemburg's theoretical position, relating her encounters with German, Russian, and Polish history to her intellectual growth. The reader might do well to read this chapter for guidance before embarking on Volume I.

Nettl rightly stresses Luxemburg's tendency to reduce philosophy to a tactic,

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but in the case of imperialism he fails to distinguish adequately between thought and the social reality that stamped it. Skirting warily around the issue of imperialism as a real social phenomenon, the author interprets Luxemburg's conception of it as a purely subjective phenomenon, "a postulate required in order to justify a more active Socialist policy." Like Canning in the diplomatic world, he says, "so Rosa Luxemburg brought in imperialist society to redress the balance of the party." This is truly to stand Luxemburg on her head. Her deep concern about imperialism's real power made her almost desperate to fortify the party with a stronger tactic to meet its threat. She did not need to "postulate" imperialism for her party purposes; it was all too present in her society.

Nettl's personal distaste for theory as something somehow hostile or alien to life was not shared by Rosa Luxemburg, and the difference in attitude, I believe, creates a barrier between the author and his subject. Nettl's skillful and loving research has brought new life and new learning to the problem of Rosa Luxemburg as person and as revolutionary actor. A deeper inquiry into the historical import of her intellectual life and work remains to be undertaken.

University of California, Berkeley CARL E. SCHORSKE

DIE DEUTSCH-ENGLISCHE RIVALITÄT VOR DEM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG IN DER SICHT DEUTSCHER HISTORIKER: MISSVERSTEHEN ODER MACHTSTREBEN? By *Willy Schenk*. (Aarau: Keller Verlag. 1967. Pp. 173.)

EXPLAINING Anglo-German rivalry before World War I, Ludwig Dehio wrote that just as Prussia had once become a great European power by virtue of its military strength, Germany, in the early twentieth century, sought world power status by naval arming, thereby threatening both the European balance of power and British maritime supremacy. Gerhard Ritter, on the other hand, attributed the rivalry to distrust owing to profound misunderstanding between two nations of radically diverse political heritage: the insular English with an ethical tradition personified by Sir Thomas More, as opposed to the insecure continental power able to maintain itself only by Machiavellian power politics.

In a carefully documented dissertation, Dr. Willy Schenk reviews the writings of a dozen leading Wilhelminian historians in light of whether it was more a hegemonial struggle for power or a fateful misunderstanding. Before the turn of the century, when many German liberals hoped pursuit of empire would strengthen their socially divided and politically immature country, few except Marxists challenged the national dream of a great colonial empire supported by a mighty fleet. After the formation of the *Entente* and the debacle of Algeciras, however, no perceptive observer could fail to see that Germany was on a collision course with England. While a few historians, such as Max Lenz, thereafter refrained from further encouragement of imperialism and naval armament, most, including Delbrück, Hintze, and Schäfer, continued to advocate a militant course, regarding the possibly ensuing war with resignation or even as a means of national consolidation and renewal. The socialist Eduard Bernstein did speak out clearly against German policy, stressing patriotic rather than ideological arguments, but among academic historians, only Hermann Oncken of Munich seriously urged

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a more moderate course that would have made reconciliation with England possible.

Schenk has competently demonstrated that although neither Dehio's nor Ritter's interpretation of the Anglo-German rivalry is valid for all German historians of the period, many consciously contributed to the widely held belief that Germany was destined to struggle for a place in the sun, explicitly accepting the risk of war. A few, such as Max Weber, who, together with the geopolitician Friedrich Ratzel, is included in the study, and Friedrich Meinecke, did later change their positions considerably, but only after it was far too late to undo the political effect of their prewar writings.

Southern Illinois University DONALD S. DETWILER

LENIN UND DER ITALIENISCHE SOZIALISMUS, 1915–1921: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GRÜNDUNGSGESCHICHTE DER KOMMUNISTISCHEN INTERNATIONALE. By *Helmut König*. [Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Osteuropaforschung, Forschungsberichte und Untersuchungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 13.] (Tübingen: [the Arbeitsgemeinschaft;] distrib. by Böhlau Verlag, Köln Graz. 1967. Pp. x, 240. DM 32.)

THIS valuable contribution to the early history of the Communist International highlights the strength, as well as the division, in Italy's militant Left in the immediate postwar period and the policy and methods pursued by Soviet Communism in crushing national independence on the part of as powerful a socialist movement as that of Italy. But since Lenin was not very voluble on the Italian question, it adds little to our knowledge of Lenin.

Still, the study, painstakingly researched and lucidly presented, rests securely on Italian, German, Russian, and other materials and utilizes unpublished sources of Italy's Central State Archive, of the police and of the Ministry of the Interior in general, papers of the noted Communist leader Serrati as well as the entire contemporary pertinent Marxist literature and personal interviews. It is a concise, well-written, knowledgeable, and penetrating account of Italian socialism since the entry of Italy into the First World War, with emphasis on its relations to Moscow. Palmiro Togliatti once remarked that a complete history of the Third International will not be written until the archive of the former Comintern becomes accessible. Yet the character, the broad trends, and significant detail of the relationship between the Soviet government and the Comintern and Italian socialists are already there for everyone to see.

The study illuminates Lenin's and the Comintern's increasingly unabashed intervention into the affairs of a great fraternal party with a proud socialist, international, and also antimilitarist tradition. It shows their insistence especially upon the exclusion of such "reformists" as Turati, Modigliani, and Treves from the *Partito Socialista Italiano*. When Serrati and the Maximalist majority rejected Lenin's and the Comintern's consistent pressures for the ouster of this right wing, the wrath of Moscow was turned against Serrati. The perplexing twists and turns of the socialist and Communist infighting and the various interventionist schemes of the Comintern are traced with perspicacity and sure grasp of Communist tactics and ideology.

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Did Lenin actually believe that an Italian revolution failed to materialize because of the "treason" of "opportunists and reformists" à la Turati? Was his policy motivated by actual knowledge and cool assessment of the Italian situation, by ideological wishful thinking, or defense of the foreign interests of Soviet Russia? The basic question of why the leadership of the Comintern had wanted a split of the Socialist party at all will have to remain unanswered as long as the Zinoviev papers and the archive of the Comintern in general are not accessible. Clearly, a Communist party was needed if Italy was on the eve of revolution. Yet the extant evidence is contradictory. Lenin, while believing that Italy was ready for a socialist revolution, entertained few illusions about the possibility and effectiveness of an Anglo-French blockade and even the West's intervention in Italy. In 1922 Zinoviev still attempted to justify the split in the Italian party. But Radek later acknowledged that the Moscow-imposed split at Livorno had been an "error."

Marquette University ALFRED D. LOW

LE SAINT SIÈGE ET LA SITUATION RELIGIEUSE EN POLOGNE ET DANS LES PAYS BALTES, 1939–1945. Part 1, 1939–1941; Part 2, 1942–1945. [Secrétairerie d'État de Sa Sainteté, Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale, Number 3.] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 1967. Pp. xxxi, 513; 515–961.)

As was to have been expected, Pius XII's long silence about the Nazi persecutions was followed by an outcry in the historical, theological, and polemical literature on the Catholic Church and the Third *Reich*. So as to bring the argument down to facts, the Vatican has now taken the unusual step of publishing from its secret archives the material on this chapter of contemporary history. These particular volumes, containing 605 letters and memorandums, include the correspondence between the Vatican and the Polish and Baltic bishops, between the Berlin nuncio, Orsenigo, and Rome, as well as diplomatic exchanges between the Holy See and the German government concerning the religious situation in Poland and the Baltic States.

Certainly the Vatican documents afford insight into the complexity of the Church's position as a supranational institution bent upon maintaining itself apart from the ebb and flow of politics. They also reveal the lengths to which the German authorities went to isolate the Polish areas with the objective of playing upon the population's fear of being abandoned by the papacy. But at the same time they confirm the picture of the Vatican sacrificing principles to expediency, and of a pope, peaceful to a point of timidity, unequal to an unusual situation. The policy of silence and indirection was, so we read again and again, designed to avoid worse occurrences, but in effect it shook the faith of the thirty million Poles, who considered themselves "the shield of Christianity," in their Supreme Pontiff. The bitter complaints of the exiled Polish bishops, among which the most outspoken ones came from Monsignor Carl Radónski of Włocławek, were finally silenced by a papal statement of June 2, 1943, in which the Pontiff for once addressed himself directly to the Polish situation.

But can it justly be said, as the editors do, that thereby the "painful episode"

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of Polish complaints against the Holy See was terminated? "Painful episode" is a painful understatement; furthermore, the mild and measured tone of Pius XII carefully avoided giving offense to the Nazis. For the historian at least not even these documents succeed in making a case for a rehabilitation of the all too silent Pope Pius XII.

In concluding, it might be suggested that a volume someday be published to document the story of the clergy in the occupied areas. The data on the martyrdom of hundreds of priests, allowing even for all those who collaborated, might conceivably do more honor to the Church than any collection of papal documents during the Second World War.

Smith College KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

LE CONFLIT DE TRIESTE, 1943–1954. By *Jean-Baptiste Duroselle.* [Centre européen de la Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale, Études de cas de conflits internationaux, Number 3.] ([Brussels:] Éditions de l'Institut de Sociologie de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles. 1966. Pp. 647. 1,200 fr. B.)

THE third in a series of studies on post-World War II conflicts being prepared under the auspices of the European center of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, this analysis of the Italo-Yugoslav dispute over Trieste demonstrates that "contemporary" (or nearly so) events can be studied in a definitive manner. The approach to the subject matter, like the one used in the previous two studies on the Saar and the Franco-Moroccan conflict, incorporates the techniques of history, political science, and sociology. While Duroselle's name rightly appears as author, since he wrote the book, the work rests on the collective research and judgment of many able collaborators, Italian and Yugoslav, who mined published and unpublished sources and the archives of many countries. Some sixty people were interviewed. Duroselle points out that the remembrances of busy men are often vague, but if the interviews are numerous they help to recreate atmosphere and motivation. Seven years in preparation, from 1956 to 1963, the book was written twice. The initial draft, finished in 1959, was submitted to specialists appointed by the Carnegie Endowment. This panel included experts from Italy and Yugoslavia, the two parties to the conflict, and Swiss, Austrian, and English scholars. As a result of their comments and suggestions, the Italian and Yugoslav governments made available additional material, and the book was completely rewritten in its present form. These procedures helped to ensure the greatest possible accuracy and impartiality in the use of sources and the presentation of subject matter.

The book is divided into three parts and includes an excellent bibliography, charts, and maps. The first part traces the origins of the conflict in the geography and past history of the area. The second presents a detailed account of the diplomatic maneuvers from 1945 to the final solution in 1954. The third discusses Trieste as a case study, representative of international conflict, and examines the "strategy" and "tactics" involved in the negotiations. For me, this last part, the "étude théorique," in which Duroselle discusses the nature of conflict and the motivations involved, was the most interesting. Here political theory and sociology buttress the historian's knowledge of the facts. The result is a brilliant analysis

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of Trieste as a case study in which the lessons learned may serve to guide in future instances where similar problems and attitudes prevail.

Simmons College EMILIANA P. NOETHER

A CALENDAR OF THE WHITE AND BLACK BOOKS OF THE CINQUE PORTS, 1432–1955. Edited by *Felix Hull.* [Historical Manuscripts Commission, JP 5.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Service, New York. 1966. Pp. xlii, 818. $42.00 postpaid.)

THE White and Black Books of the Cinque Ports contain the minutes of the meetings of that ancient confederation of port towns that still continues, at least nominally. The books record the transactions of both the General Brotherhood, which during the fifteenth century met on a regular basis and was in many respects the parliamentary body of the confederation, and the Guestling, which developed during the sixteenth century as a special meeting of the west ports and was gradually merged with the Brotherhood. The matters that were discussed at the meetings of these two bodies were those things that directly concerned the Cinque Ports, and the calendar contains few references to affairs that affected the whole nation. There is, for example, only one oblique reference to the Spanish Armada, and there are no references at all to the Civil War period. Oliver Cromwell, as Lord Protector, is mentioned only twice. Moreover, although the calendar extends from 1432 until 1955, there are few entries after the seventeenth century; only twenty-three formal meetings of the confederation were held after 1698. At the last meeting, in 1955, the most important item of business was the presentation of a portrait of the then Lord Warden, Sir Winston Churchill. This meeting was in marked contrast to the first meeting in 1432, when the Brotherhood was very much concerned about the liberties of the ports and appointed a delegation to present a suit to the Lord Warden, the Duke of Gloucester.

This volume is a model of what a good calendar should be. There is an excellent introduction that not only describes the significance of the White and Black Books for the history and constitutional development of the Cinque Ports but also gives an account of the early history of the ports, the development of the Brotherhood and the Guestling, and the functions that these two bodies performed before the decline of the ports. This introduction is in itself a valuable contribution to scholarship. The work also contains two excellent indexes, one of personal names, listing all of the variations in spelling, and the other of subjects. Probably the best feature of the calendar is that Dr. Hull indicates clearly when he is paraphrasing and when he is quoting directly. The retention of direct quotations, especially when the language is so interesting, adds flavor to the text and provides much more interesting reading. It also reassures the historian that important materials are not omitted.

This is a joint publication of the Kent Archaeological Society and the Historical Manuscripts Commission. It is hoped that other joint publications of such high caliber and significance will soon be issued.

Temple University ROBERT C. JOHNSON

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THE COMMUNITY OF KENT AND THE GREAT REBELLION, 1640–60. By *Alan Everitt*. ([Leicester:] Leicester University Press; New York: Humanities Press. 1966. Pp. 356. $6.50.)

Dr. Alan Everitt has been working for many years at the evidence on the structure, function, and behavior of the county communities of Kent and Suffolk during the critical years of the seventeenth century. This full-length, definitive study of Kent marks the consolidation of an important, scholarly career in history of the newer sort, where local materials and local events are used to exemplify change and vicissitude in the whole, national society.

The emergence of this kind of scholarship has some significance for the study of history generally, and even for its relationship with the other social sciences. The actual elucidation of what went on within one of the local segments of English political society during the years when the traditional regimen was interrupted is itself of considerable value, and Everitt tells this story with skill, experience, and conviction.

His account benefits from the comparison of Kent, with Suffolk and other counties, also. He describes how the settled, gentle families of the oldest and most community-conscious county in the country entered the Civil War as a network of traditional alliances, on the whole on the side of Pym and the Parliament, but not in the hands of the Puritans. The description of the management of the elections of 1640 is the most detailed piece of electoral analysis we yet possess, from the time of the first recognizable act of political mobilization in the history of representative government, and political sociologists should take note. The influence of family connection, of religious persuasion, of political ideology, of economic interest, even (in Canterbury especially, amongst the Walloons) of immigrant attitudes, are all there to see, but kinship and affinity between manor house and manor house are unmistakably salient. The effect of this intensification of social activity—political, religious, and general—was the strengthening of the sense of community. By 1643 it actually led to the erection of defense works along the "frontshires" of the county of Kent.

No wonder some of the writers of the time supposed that, when kingly authority broke down, England resolved itself into its constituent parts: the county communities. What happened in Kent after the initial flare-up was a series of realignments, changes of attitude, acts of defiance and withdrawal, that culminated in 1648 in the most serious and, after the appearance of the Levellers, perhaps structurally the most deep-seated rebellion that occurred during the whole period. The established, rich, successful families revolted, along with their tenants, their laborers, and a great part of the sometimes independent yeomanry. The county committee had come to consist of the newer, poorer, lighter dynasties and individuals who owed their position to the London authorities and, finally, to the Cromwellian military power. Even the Cavaliers, who were to stimulate a series of irresponsible uprisings before royalism finally succeeded in 1660, were of this character. Spontaneous political action was scarcely possible in Kent during the Puritan interlude.

Oliver and Richard Cromwell had to rule this county finally by force and no longer through a county committee representative of the gentry or community

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of Kent. But it was not the merchants, the yeomanry, or any social grouping other than the gentry that gained ascendancy. The fabric of society seems to have remained much as it always had been, except in the matter of final political supremacy. This is perhaps the most important and, no doubt, controversial point that Everitt's scholarly and impressive book emphasizes on the issues of the general interpretation of what is called the English Revolution. The account that he gives is necessarily repetitive and often rather tedious. The actual analysis of social differences and social groupings is somewhat perfunctory and uses many overvague terms that are now coming into use, of which "parochial gentry" is a conspicuous example. It is not clear to me that the crucial distinction between who was a laborer and who was a servant in traditional, preindustrial English society is adequately appreciated.

But the era of properly sociological history has yet to begin, and we must be grateful for what we have been given. I can think of no better book to have been written at this time on a subject using such evidence.

Trinity College, Cambridge PETER LASLETT

GOD HAVE MERCY: THE LIFE OF JOHN FISHER OF ROCHESTER. By *Michael Macklem*. (Ottawa: Oberon Press. 1967. Pp. 277. $6.75.)

THE WORKS AND DAYS OF JOHN FISHER: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE POSITION OF ST. JOHN FISHER (1469–1535), BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, IN THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION. By *Edward Surtz, S. J.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 572. $15.00.)

ON June 22, 1535, John Fisher, the deprived bishop of Rochester and newly designated cardinal, was beheaded at Tower Hill for his stubborn refusal to accept Henry VIII's "divorce" and for his failure to comply with the Statutes of Succession and Supremacy (1534). Fisher's death electrified Christian Europe; it convinced the Pope and the Catholic princes that Henry meant business. Even to the great Froude, with his Protestant sympathies, writing three centuries later, it was "a hard case" but a necessary one; the death of an infirm octogenarian, so painful to relate, could only be excused in his eyes by the torment of "a nation in the throes of revolution." From the English Protestant tradition, then, Fisher, like More, had the misfortune to have died for the opposition. Similarly, he had the bad luck to have lived and moved in the shadow of his friends, Thomas More and Erasmus, who wrote those Renaissance classics, *Utopia* and *Praise of Folly*. Two weeks after Fisher's death, friend More, the former Chancellor, was executed, thus reinforcing, and in some ways obscuring, for his contemporaries the meaning of Fisher's sacrifice.

Happily these two works, sympathetic to Fisher, attempt to restore him to the pantheon of sixteenth-century great men. Dr. Macklem's attractively written biography admirably complements Father Surtz's intensive and extensive examination of Fisher's thought. While the biography restricts itself to a straightforward, chronological narrative, the critical work consists of a series of essays on Fisher's intellectual position as well as detailed commentary on his method and style. In fact, of twenty-one chapters, Chapters II through XII of Surtz's

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book elaborate Fisher's thinking on such critical Reformation issues as the authority of Scripture and tradition, the efficacy of faith and grace, and the importance of original tongues for Biblical study whereas Chapters XIII through XX deal with method and style in his sermons and polemical treatises. Such organization makes for some repetition and requires close reading since Surtz presumes great familiarity with the period on the part of his reader. Nonetheless, Fisher's position as an important Christian humanist and worthy antagonist to Luther; to Oecolampadius, Zwingli's associate; and to Henry VIII emerges quite clearly. Though Fisher's writings were prolix, they were always well argued, brilliantly organized, and theologically sound from the viewpoint of Scripture and the Church fathers so that they mark an important chapter in the polemics of a polemical age. Surtz rather suggestively notes that they formed a base for the work of the Council of Trent.

State University of New York, Buffalo MELVIN J. TUCKER

A COFFIN FOR KING CHARLES: THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CHARLES I. By *C. V. Wedgwood*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. 307. $5.95.)

As a narrative of the last ten weeks in the life of England's Charles I, this book is a success. With imagination, liveliness, and a remarkable sense of telling detail, Miss Wedgwood recounts the story of the defeated King and his courage and dignity in facing captivity, trial, and finally death. She tells at length of the trial itself, of the efforts of Parliament's moderates to block it and the efforts of leading jurists to flee London rather than take part in it, and of Oliver Cromwell's determination to make what must take place without legality have at least the appearance of it. The drama was a stirring one, and this account records some memorable scenes: Colonel Harrison in full and splendid uniform, with his cavalry troop drawn up behind him, taking charge of the royal captive; the chagrin of two hardy Presbyterians who had managed to slip by the discriminating eye of Colonel Pride, only to be summarily ejected into the December cold when they unwisely decided to inspect personally the Purge proceedings; the nobility of the King himself, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the ill-assorted judges who would and did condemn him.

But the book raises questions. For the reader who has neither natural affection nor admiration for monarchy, the thought of a monarch brought low is not in itself distressing. That the King had great courage and personal dignity even his enemies agreed. But it was not so much Charles Stuart as his record as a king that was on trial, and in this the effects and effectiveness of his rule were to the point; his personal characteristics seem barely relevant. Second, the author agrees with nearly all those who have thought about the matter that the King's trial was illegal; it was based on neither law nor precedent. In stressing this, she overlooks another point. Revolution itself is extra- if not illegal. To those who had fought against him, the King's appeals for judgment by God, or even by Parliament, now long divided and discredited, must have seemed a mockery of their hopes and principles. The stakes in civil war are high, as the judges themselves, as well as Charles, were to find. To

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dismiss the trial as a "monstrous injustice," as it may well have been, is to miss the fact that despite its legalistic trappings it was a political more than a judicial event.

The reader is tantalized by repeated references to conflict between Cromwell and post-Purge parliamentary militants: Cromwell pressed for the King's condemnation, but did not quite possess the political control to direct the judicial proceedings. One wants to know more of it. One also wonders whether all those who took to the countryside during that fateful January did so, as the author suggests, out of residual loyalty to the crown, or out of some less laudable motives, which she reserves for those who rather fearfully stayed and sat on the regicide bench. It seems more likely that honesty, courage, and noble emotions were more evenly divided among royalist and revolutionary than she would have us believe.

The major problem seems to lie in the narrative method itself. The story is a good one, but it is only half revealed by an account of the events. Great matters were at stake, ideals of government and theories of politics in conflict, and beside these considerations a servant's boorishness, a judge's bumbling anger, and even the King's brave spirit pale. One must be glad that the lesser story has been told and told very well indeed. One also wishes, however, that it had been sketched against a deeper background. Having now the day-to-day report, one waits for the Sunday *Times,* or perhaps the *Observer,* to tell us what it all really means.

University of Illinois, Chicago Circle CAROLYN A. EDIE

THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS UNDER CHARLES II & JAMES II. By *Phyllis S. Lachs.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 269. $7.50.)

As is made quite clear in the preface, this book examines the English diplomatic corps from 1660 to 1688, and not English foreign policy. There are eight chapters dealing with such matters as the structure of the diplomatic corps, duties and responsibilities of officials, personnel, the make-up of embassies, protocol, rights, and writings. These are followed by a short chapter giving conclusions, three appendixes, a short bibliographical note, and an index. There are good notes, but they are, unfortunately, at the back of the book. (If this must be done, surely it is possible to indicate at the top of the page to which chapter they refer.) The scholarship is of high quality, the printing not always so, and the writing is clear and readable.

It may be said that, within the limits the author imposed upon herself, the subject has been treated exhaustively and perhaps even definitively. Others working in the period will surely find the list of diplomatic personnel (Appendix II) useful and also some of the tables showing sums paid representatives. There are many charming stories illustrating the various aspects of the diplomatic corps. Within these limits, this is a good book.

While any author obviously has the right to set whatever limits he wishes and to write whatever book he chooses, he must expect to be asked: what is the point? It is entertaining to know that, when an ambassador made his

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formal entry, the French government entertained him for *x* nights, the Russian for *y*, the Swedish for *z*, and so forth. But if these differences are not related to either the power or policy of the entertaining government (Can they be? Were they?), does it make any difference? The nearly complete absence of judgments reinforces what might be called the antiquarian as distinct from the historical bent of this book. It is tempting, if harsh, to say that all that is really useful, other than the sections indicated above, can be found in the chapter entitled "Conclusions."

Barnard College GEORGE WOODBRIDGE

THE ENGLISH COURT IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE I. By *John M. Beattie*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 306. $9.50.)

MR. Beattie has done all students of eighteenth-century England a great service: he has made a valuable contribution to the lamentably rare literature about administration by greatly clarifying the role of the first Hanoverian king, and, thereby, he has illuminated the history of the monarchy. The bibliography reveals both the scarcity of available secondary monographs and the wealth of manuscript material utilized in this book, which is the scholarly result of very extensive research directed by an imaginative and comprehensive understanding of the general context and significance of the subject.

In a brief introduction (Chapter I) Beattie notes that early separation of household and the departments of central government had not deprived the court of social and political importance. That of George I was the focal point of administration and society, as well as the most obvious source of patronage. The King continued to dominate the world of politics. Nothing could be more foolish than to relegate George to obscurity, or to believe that he cared little for his English inheritance. George was prepared to give up his cherished privacy to outshine the circle round his unbeloved son and heir and secure for himself alone the leading role in political manipulation.

The department of the household, its finances, and the recruitment, tenure, and value of offices in it, are discussed in Part I (Chapters II–VI). This provides the essential basis as well as the explanation for the author's conclusions. Part II (Chapters VII and VIII) deals with the public image and character of the court. An appendix to Chapter VII shows the size of the court group in Parliament; another, to Chapter VIII, lists offices in the reign of George I.

Nothing, Beattie declares, could be further from the truth than the statement that in 1714 George I abdicated his power to the Whig ministers. Provided the King chose those who could function effectively in Parliament, that institution being impossible to ignore, he could determine the composition of the government and direct its policy. Ministers were obliged to watch court intrigue closely. The number of Hanoverians round the King must not be exaggerated; they were legally denied public positions. Yet at least three of the "foreigners" had an influence out of all proportion to the titles held. Baron Andreas von Bernstorff, soon enjoying the confidence of Lord and Lady Cowper, and Jean de Robethon, a Huguenot who had also served William III, were hard-working, professional politicians who paid little heed to nice distinctions between English

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and Hanoverian spheres. The third, Fraulein Ehrengard von der Schulenberg, the duchess of Kendal, with whom George took supper every evening, undoubtedly played some part in assisting Stanhope, in helping the establishment of the Walpole-Townshend ministry, and in defeating, at least for the moment, the ambitions of Carteret. The "King's Closet," Beattie concludes, was the primary basis of power throughout the reign of George I.

Bryn Mawr College CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE MAKING OF CLASSICAL EDINBURGH, 1750–1840. By *A. J. Youngson*. (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1966. Pp. xv, 338. $10.00.)

DESPITE the coating of coal dust and grime that has covered so many of Edinburgh's buildings for generations, even the most casual visitor must at once be struck by the city's grandeur of site and magnificence of architectural projection. Surpassed by Glasgow as an industrial and financial center in the course of the nineteenth century, Edinburgh has retained its Capitoline characteristics remarkably well. This success was not simply the result of good fortune as this carefully presented and beautifully produced study reveals. Between 1750 and 1840 Scotland's capital had a civic pride to match the country's intellectual and economic expansiveness.

In the great tradition of eighteenth-century urban planning, the leaders of Edinburgh's civic life set out deliberately to create a classical setting equal to the city's appellation of "Athens of the North." That they did not entirely succeed was due largely to extraordinary mismanagement of public funds terminating in civic bankruptcy in 1833 and the great difficulty of fulfilling public subscriptions in a society that was expanding economically but had not yet reached a point of positive affluence. Even so, the quasi success was magnificent in accomplishment and reflected the willingness of a society to invest in aesthetic achievement even at the expense of other social needs. Had the city not been ruled by a rather narrow oligarchy in the eighteenth century, it is doubtful that such a costly effort might have been made. A more democratic society might perforce have exhibited greater concern for the sufferings of the crowded slum dwellers in the high wynds and dingy garrets of the "Old Town." Oddly enough, however, the conscious effort toward aesthetic improvement was not entirely divorced from larger social concerns, although it must be admitted that the intentions behind it were what one might expect of Adam Smith's countrymen in an age when stimulus to individual motivation rather than public support of mass welfare was considered the only proper means of social transformation. The project was, in fact, launched with a careful eye toward the material benefits that it was believed must flow from such a large economic commitment.

How much the efforts of Edinburgh alone may have contributed to national expansion is difficult to say. It is more likely that the attitudes of the Edinburgh corporation were a manifestation rather than a cause of the larger national motivation. The long-range effects of the transformation were ambivalent, for the stimulation of national life, while it had immediate and brilliant conse-

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quences, prepared the way for that exodus of ability to England and elsewhere that has become such an unfortunate characteristic of Scottish society since the middle of the nineteenth century. Scotland remained, as the great architect Robert Adam noted, "too narrow a place" for one of his talents. It is significant that Adam's own career, after he had contributed so much to the refurbishing of Edinburgh, reached its zenith on English soil. For all of that, however, the "making of classical Edinburgh" was the extraordinary embodiment of the vision of a people determined to change not only their economic but their aesthetic circumstances. This book is a valuable study of one aspect of a nation's social and economic development. Its interest is more than parochial.

Boston University SIDNEY A. BURRELL

THE COMPLETE LETTERS OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU. Volume III, 1752–1762. Edited by *Robert Halsband*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 408. $13.45.)

"Here lies one whose words were writ in verjuice" would have struck Lady Mary's contemporaries as a fitting epitaph. Never at a loss for words or wit, that "extraordinary phenomenon," as one of them labeled her, gained the reputation that such gifts predestine. She even induced in others the same qualities. The affable "Queen of the Blues," *Mrs.* Montagu, sourly catalogued her great family merit: "she has banished her children, abandoned her husband [and] as she cannot reach Constantinople she will limit her ambition to an intrigue with the Pope or the Doge of Venice." By her own admission Lady Mary had left England because of its dullness, but she hankered after Constantinople, Mrs. Montagu implies, for reasons neither intellectual nor platonic. The same critic also seems to imply that the cause of her death, a "most virulent cancer," fitted Lady Mary's character, though she was very placid and easy, drugged with hemlock to be sure, at the end; how strange if her last hours should be "sweet as the slumbers of a Saint forgiven."

Whatever the truth or malice of such hints, it is sufficient that this superb edition, now completed, testifies again to the eighteenth-century prodigality of versions of the self. Such collections almost persuade us that no one who had not lived before the Industrial Revolution or the great Reform Act could possibly know *la douceur de vivre*. For fully fifty years Lady Mary's quicksilver wit penetrated the cracks of human foibles, not least her own, for, though she avowed mankind to be everywhere the same, she denied her avowal by seizing on the little differences. She despised Richardson and thought *Clarissa* miserable stuff, yet sobbed over it like any milkmaid. She thought one of her own letters so incomparably dull that she would not own it by setting her name to it. She turned author, but modestly burned every quire on completion. She despised the notion that women should not be educated. She deplored the confounding of ranks as witnessed by making "coblers and kitchin wenches" heroes and heroines, but she thought the books that made them so more truly mirrored the times than any history. She saw indiscreet Lady Coke "walking blindfold, upon stilts, amidst precipices." She despised Bolingbroke's "false eloquence" and re-

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gretted that many were taken in by it. She rejected translations, for though a "meer pidler" she would rather take pains with the original than sleep over a stupid translation.

The embarrassment of riches frustrates us: one eighteenth century is talking, endlessly but ever entertainingly. Some there be, no doubt, who will regard these letters as but the chattering of a jay—no common man, no merchant, only the gingerbread of politics. Yet what is wrong with gingerbread? What Lady Mary's concerns reveal about the temper of the eighteenth century must surely equal the price of grain or the member for Old Sarum. So enticing is this guide to that temper, thanks alike to editor and publisher, that they, too, must feel something of that melancholy confessed by Gibbon as he took leave of his old and agreeable companion, *The Decline and Fall.*

University of Missouri CHARLES F. MULLETT

LORD ELGIN AND THE MARBLES. By *William St. Clair.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 309. $6.75.)

LORD Elgin is remembered chiefly for having secured for the English nation those magnificent Greek sculptures that are among the most cherished possessions of the British Museum. A full account of how, as ambassador to Turkey during the Napoleonic Wars, he acquired the marbles through great personal effort and at ruinous expense is the theme of this book. It is a moving and fascinating story, reading almost like a Greek tragedy; the ancient belief that the gods would visit retribution on the despoiler of their temples might seem to have been well grounded.

When at the age of thirty-three Lord Elgin and his new bride set sail for Constantinople (1799), he was well launched on a diplomatic career. Before his departure, he proposed to his government, as a scheme for improving the fine arts in Britain, that he should have drawings and plaster casts made of the Parthenon sculptures while he was in the vicinity. When government funds were denied, he proceeded with the plan, subsidizing it himself. His decision to bring back some of the actual sculptures was made when he discovered that they were being steadily carried away by French agents and by tourists. In spite of incredible difficulties, he obtained permission and had the great figures crated and shipped to London.

The cruel blow of finding, when he returned to England, that his government was unwilling to purchase the sculptures for more than a fraction of his expenditure, and of being censured by some Englishmen for having "plundered" the Acropolis, was worsened by the ridicule of the dilettanti, who pronounced the marbles second-rate. He lived to see this opinion reversed, but not to recover his fortune; pursued by debt, he was forced to sell his London house and to live abroad in order to escape his creditors.

This is the first carefully documented account of Lord Elgin's enterprise from its conception until the Greek sculptures were finally deposited in the British Museum (1816). The author has had access to all of the important papers, many of them private and unpublished, and he has greatly elucidated the

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circumstances attending the public controversies concerning the marbles and Lord Elgin's conduct, which he pronounces "entirely honorable." Since no biography of the Scottish earl exists, this detailed study of a significant segment of his life is most welcome.

New York, New York RUTH EMERY

CASTLEREAGH. By *C. J. Bartlett.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [1967.] Pp. ix, 292. $5.95.)

CASTLEREAGH, Mr. Bartlett observes with some justice, has of late received less attention from historians than he deserves. A number of studies appeared in the 1920's and 1930's, notably the magisterial works of Sir Charles Webster, but for the past three decades the presses have been still, while far less significant characters have been receiving fresh biographical treatment. No one would deny Castlereagh's importance. For a quarter century he was a central figure in British politics, foreign and domestic, and a character who excited controversies during his lifetime and later. Perhaps, as much as anything, it is the fact that he lacked the obvious elements of color that attract biographers. In public he was the cool, aloof aristocrat, and a bad speaker, whose more attractive qualities emerged only when he had fled from London to his place at North Cray. There the life of the country gentleman took over, and in conversations with friends and political associates an informal, engaging human being revealed himself. His greatest effectiveness, indeed, was in private discussion, where rhetoric was superfluous and where reason, tact, and patience were in greater demand.

This book examines, with a sympathetic but not uncritical eye, Castlereagh's record. It rests on no manuscript sources but on a careful reading of the printed materials, primary and secondary, and is written with sound historical judgment, though with little distinction of style. There will be no surprises, I think, for students of the period. Bartlett's view of Castlereagh, in general, is the temperate one that historians, following Webster, have now adopted. The commanding achievement of this Anglo-Irishman, he would agree, was the creation of a European balance that lasted for half a century. No doubt the years 1814–1815 saw his career at its peak, but in some respects the policy followed in the years after Waterloo was more interesting and original. This policy, Bartlett argues, was so distinctive and imaginative that no other politician of the time could or would have attempted it. Yet, with all Castlereagh's skill as a diplomatist, his policy was self-defeating. It rested primarily on his personal relationships with other statesmen and rulers, relationships that no succeeding Foreign Minister could well take over, and on his own prestige in the House of Commons.

This matter of Castlereagh's leadership in the Commons has been too little explored. Bartlett gives him high marks as an able manager, though admittedly an uninspiring speaker. When one looks underneath for Castlereagh's political ideas, they turn out to be about what one would expect. If he was not the ogre of the "Masque of Anarchy" mythology, neither was he, in domestic affairs, a creative statesman. His approach to mass discontent was conditioned by his own background, and he had few impulses toward reform (save Catholic Emancipation). But when there were sound political reasons for moving ahead,

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Castlereagh would not resist. Though we shall have to call him a Tory, he was never enlisted in the ranks of the "Ultras."

Harvard University DAVID OWEN

A LIBERAL STATE AT WAR: ENGLISH POLITICS AND ECONOMICS DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR. By *Olive Anderson.* (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 306. $8.50.)

GRADUALLY that strange no man's land of English historians of the nineteenth century—the 1850's—is being invaded. From the late Professor W. L. Burn we have learned to think of the mid-Victorian era as an Age of Equipoise, and already the modifications, revisions, and extended footnotes are beginning to appear. Mrs. Anderson's excellent monograph is a useful corrective to the racy exuberance of Cecil Woodham-Smith's *The Reason Why,* and also provides important revisions of the usually accepted views of the effects of the Crimean War at home. By means of a skillful combination of material and techniques from political, social, intellectual, and economic history concentrated on a limited period and set of problems, she has produced a study in depth that provides new insights into mid-Victorian England.

The Crimean War was a curious episode. It was, as the author puts it, "a great war which failed to materialise"—far from the Armageddon that had been expected in England. Yet in these brief two years the impact on English public life ranged from extreme patriotic excitement to gloom and angry recrimination, with manifestations of naked class consciousness and unparalleled public debate about the shortcomings of British constitutional institutions. So great was the role of the *Times* newspaper that it seemed to overshadow the House of Commons as "the grand inquest of the nation." The men at the top in every department of English public life appeared so incompetent that the middle-class cry to "commercialise" government attracted considerable support: "why does not the Government allow some great firm to contract for carrying on the war?" asked A. H. Layard. As for the radicals, they were hopelessly split between those who followed the pacifist opposition of Cobden and Bright, and the liberal champions for whom Russia had always stood as the symbol of despotism and the oppressor of small nations. Some strange bedfellows appeared among the radical confusion, including Karl Marx and the Russophobe, David Urquhart, who were on friendly terms during the war.

There is little of the legend of "the Lady with the Lamp" in this account. Gone, too, are the myths that the Crimean War caused sweeping administrative changes and that its financing was a triumph of Manchester school principles. The role of the Administrative Reform Association as a vehicle for middle-class assertiveness is clearly brought out, and the hypothesis is put forward that this outburst of middle-class radicalism, with its emphasis on efficiency, hard work, and self-help, "promoted the emergence of that well-integrated class culture which permitted the peaceful transition to democracy accomplished in later Victorian England." The author has provided an interesting gloss on the idea of the Age of Equipoise.

University of Wisconsin JOHN F. C. HARRISON

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VICTORIAN MILITARY CAMPAIGNS: THE SIKH WARS; THE THIRD CHINA WAR, 1860; THE EXPEDITION TO ABYSSINIA, 1867–8; THE ASHANTI CAMPAIGN, 1873–4; THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR, 1880–1; THE EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN, 1882; THE RECONQUEST OF THE SUDAN. Edited by *Brian Bond*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xii, 328. $7.95.)

THE title of this book is as Victorian and as informative as the subject. As each generation writes its own history, so present-day historians return to having an interest in minor campaigns of the past as we no longer seem likely to fight major wars so much as colonial ones. This volume has many fascinations; as in all edited works, however, the caliber of the essays varies.

Brian Bond had, as the appendix shows, a wide variety of campaigns and incidents from which to choose, since there were seventy-two in Victoria's reign alone. Obviously it was impossible to touch upon all of them, or even upon all of the militarily or politically significant ones. Instead, the editor took the sensible approach of picking out those campaigns upon which either little had been written or upon which not much had been published in recent years. The intent, generally well carried out, was to deal less with the tactical approach than with the campaign in its whole setting. While in the descriptions of the Sikh Wars and the Third Chinese War, the reader is left with the impression that tactical details overshadow, this is not without its merits, for Victorian colonial operations so often did depend upon the actions of a very few individuals: the defeat at Laing's Nek in 1881 being due to Colley's failure to appreciate the tactical weaknesses of Majuba Hill, an Achilles' heel he could easily have covered.

As an edited book, *Victorian Military Campaigns* has certain weaknesses. There is a failure to comment upon the apparent lack of military historical thought, as shown with the army in South Africa making many of the same mistakes Braddock made in America. There is little comment upon the success of the Abyssinian campaign being due to the fact that Napier was an engineer; nor is there any analysis as to the chances others had to command when the "Wolseley Ring," because of its successes, tended to monopolize command of expeditions. Perhaps what is needed, and what makes the above criticisms unfair, are more studies of the services in the nineteenth century, especially from a sociological viewpoint where career patterns and connections are scrutinized. For Americans the book contains certain difficulties owing to the lack of first names, and, notably in "The Reconquest of the Sudan," there is a tendency to assume familiarity with the unfamiliar. The publisher's editor should have caught these points. A further difficulty is the fact that the bibliographic notes are split between those at the ends of the chapters and a useful, more general note on sources at the end of the book.

The introductory essay is well worth reading. For courses in British imperial history, the book will be a boon. It provides a variety of readings on a subject that was of considerable importance throughout the nineteenth century and is of revived interest today.

Kansas State University ROBIN HIGHAM

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THE SCOTTISH CARTER: THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH HORSE AND MOTORMEN'S ASSOCIATION, 1898–1964. By *Angela Tuckett.* Foreword by *Alexander H. Kitson.* (New York: Hillary House. 1967. Pp. 448. $8.50.)

Miss Tuckett's painstaking monograph will be welcomed by students of modern Scottish history, an area of study that will cease to be the province of charlatans only when more works of this type have been published. It will be welcomed by all labor historians and also by social historians concerned with the central relationship between technological change (above all, change from horse-drawn vehicles to those propelled by the internal-combustion engine) and general historical development. Finally, though Tuckett's chapter on the Second World War is sketchy and unsatisfactory, the book will be clasped to the bosoms of all whose studies of Britain since 1940 have led them to decry the fundamental shortage of serious monograph material for this period.

The Scottish Carters' Association was founded in 1898 and in 1908 became, in recognition of the burgeoning monster that now has conquered our roads, the Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association. That name lasted till 1964 when, despite the fact that in Edinburgh milk carts continued to be drawn by horses, the less poetic title, Scottish Motormen's Union, was adopted. The union consistently preserved its Scottish identity, refusing in particular to be swamped in the giant Transport and General Workers' Union built up by Ernest Bevin in the 1920's. Strongly in favor of the nationalization of road transport, the union was not otherwise closely involved in socialist politics. The man who dominated it till his dismissal in 1936, Hugh Lyon, was a fascinating trade-union boss of a type more often met with in the United States than in Britain. Though himself a member of the Strike Committee, he managed most skillfully to keep his union out of the 1919 Forty Hours Strike on Clydeside, and after the 1926 general strike (during which he was, not for the first time, accused of "treachery" to the labor movement), he severed the union's connection with both the Labour party and the Trades Union Congress. Tuckett gives an admirable description of the chaos that fell upon British roads in the interwar years, and her account of the manner in which various vested interests prevented successive governments from taking effective remedial action is stimulating enough to suggest that a valuable topic here awaits the eager Ph.D. student.

Tuckett's literary style veers between the adequate and the appalling; better organization would also have brought out her main points more clearly; nonetheless, there are enough of those to engage the attention of the serious student.

University of Edinburgh Arthur Marwick

GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY'S LOST COLONIES, 1914–1919. By *Wm. Roger Louis.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 165. $4.80.)

Most works on the diplomacy of World War I and the Paris Peace Conference concentrate their attention on the European objectives of the combatants. Military operations in the Middle East and Africa were a "sideshow," and decisions on the

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disposition of the German colonies among the victors were of relatively little consequence to the security of the world. This was also the view of President Wilson. But the colonial issue was of central importance to a powerful group of British and imperial statesmen—among them, Harcourt, Curzon, Smuts, and Milner. These men believed that the security of the British Empire was bound up with the fate of the former German colonies. British statesmen professed the fear that a German Mittelafrika could be a mortal threat. The population was convinced by government propaganda that the beastly Huns should not be permitted to retain control over the overseas peoples whom they had allegedly treated inhumanely. The representatives of the southern Dominions were determined to retain the German possessions adjacent to their countries, again for reasons of security. No schemes of internationalization could be acceptable substitutes for direct control. Against these objectives were the ambitions of other European states but, more formidably, the opposition of President Wilson to imperial aggrandizement.

The general outlines of this work are already familiar to students of imperial and European history, and Professor Louis does not alter significantly the accepted version of the background of the mandates system. But he has contributed substantially to our understanding of the British Commonwealth's war objectives and the thinking of individual statesmen. These thoughts may seem to most readers to be characterized by narrow nationalism, and assumptions of racial superiority that belong to the nineteenth rather than the twentieth century. They would be justified in this view, for in a sense Lloyd George, Hughes, and Smuts represented the age that was dying in the cataclysm of World War I. Professor Louis considers Wilson to be a prophet in his plea for the right of Africans and Asians to determine their own future. As he states, however, Wilson was not prepared to support this position with the same intensity as the statesmen of the British Commonwealth, and they won, albeit with the "fig leaf" of the mandates system.

The author has done an excellent job of research, and, contrary to a suggestion in his preface, his narrative is far from dull.

University of California, San Diego JOHN S. GALBRAITH

THE TROUBLED GIANT: BRITAIN AMONG THE GREAT POWERS, 1916–1939. By *F. S. Northedge.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the London School of Economics and Political Science. 1966. Pp. xi, 657. $17.50.)

IT is a pleasure to discover that F. S. Northedge, who teaches "international relations" at the London School of Economics, not only has an unusual sense of history for an international relations specialist, but is also a first-rate historian. Until the appearance of this volume, W. N. Medlicott's brilliant tour de force, *British Foreign Policy since Versailles,* published in 1940 before almost any archival material was available, was the best single survey of the subject. It was admirably supplemented, of course, by the sections on foreign policy in C. L. Mowat's impressive *Britain between the Wars,* but no other work of a general character gave us so balanced a combination of patient exegesis of what happened and judicious appraisal of its significance as those two books. Now we have a major addition to

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fill the proverbial need for a solid new study of foreign policy during the interwar years.

Few unpublished sources were available for this account, but Northedge has combed the monographic materials with discrimination and has used the cabinet and other papers and the *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–39,* with admirable care. His story, it goes without saying, is a tale of decline. Beginning in 1916, when Britain seemed to be at the peak of its power, he assesses the factors that influenced foreign policy and the international problems faced by British governments as the illusions of the twenties gave way to the more destructive illusions of the thirties. In a sense, as the author readily notes, this is a history of Britain's relations with the Great Powers, although even here the American relationship is given that excessively short shrift so common to British accounts of the interwar period. For the most part, it wisely does not try to be all-embracing and so manages to keep steadily focused on the important issues. Central to the British approach to foreign policy, Northedge concludes, was a basic conservatism that reflected the country's supposed status as a "wealthy, contented Power," but with outside interests too large to defend and with a real fear of violence or revolutionary change in the external world. Tory and Labour leaders shared this approach, and both assumed, incorrectly, that economic questions, rather than political, were the major determinants of international relations, not a particularly penetrating position in the Europe of Adolf Hitler. Added to this was the outdated notion that in the bitter international atmosphere, especially of the period after 1933, all issues could be compromised on some business principle of the rational bargain. Such a notion, to be sure, was humane and intelligent, but unfortunately humanity and intelligence had little to do with Hitler's Nazism and Mussolini's Fascism, to say nothing of Stalin's Communism. Few any longer characterize Neville Chamberlain as a villain; rather he was almost a caricature of all the elements that went into the making of a self-deluding and singularly unsuitable posture assumed by many British policy makers between 1919 and 1939. And indeed, to cite only one example, Northedge uses the British documents with telling effect to make it clear that in the tense spring and summer of 1939 the British government tried desperately to find a formula for some sort of accommodation with the Soviet Union. Their power to do so by that time was more limited than most of us had supposed. As a result, although it is hard to rethink one's clichés and tear up one's lecture notes, all of us who work in the period will be grateful for his insights even if we cannot accept every conclusion he reaches. This is a fine piece of work, the greatest flaw of which is its title. After 1919, Britain was admittedly troubled; it is a mistake to suggest, despite its central role in international affairs, that it was any longer a giant.

Rutgers University HRW

RETREAT FROM CHINA: BRITISH POLICY IN THE FAR EAST 1937–1941. By *Nicholas R. Clifford.* ([Seattle:] University of Washington Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 222. $7.50.)

Anglo-Japanese diplomacy, especially during the Chamberlain government, remains a vital and neglected aspect of the prewar diplomacy of East Asia. Since the

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published memoirs and the published British records reveal little concerning British policy vis-à-vis China and Japan, Professor Clifford reconstructs British policy by a thoughtful analysis of the State Department's archives. Given this source, understandably his emphasis is on "the role of Anglo-American relations," and, ignoring Japanese sources, he explicitly excludes "the making of Japanese policy" from this presentation. Within the restraints imposed by these considerations, *Retreat from China* is a judicious analysis of British travails and responses to Japan's China policy.

As Clifford sees it, before 1940 Britain "bore the brunt of the Japanese drive," and "almost by default, [it] had to take the lead in the West's rather uncertain efforts to stem the course of Japanese imperialism." Until 1939, British policy centered on "the protection of British interests in China"; after that year, the concern shifted "to the defense of the Empire." Few historians will dispute these judgments. Other assessments open to reservation include the contentions that the Chamberlain government displayed "greater flexibility in dealing with the Orient than with Europe" and that Britain was "even less ready to come to an understanding with the Soviet Union in the East than she was in Europe." Until the records are scrutinized, one is entitled to wonder how "flexible" the Chamberlain government was over British interests in China. Was it really less willing, in 1938, to sacrifice China's interests than those of Czechoslovakia? To the extent British policy was committed to assisting Chiang's government, was not the Soviet Union rendering equal, if not superior, support to Chiang's policy of resistance? These reservations aside, Clifford's central theme on Anglo-American relations is persuasive: before 1940, the Roosevelt administration would not cooperate in any "joint" policy toward Japan; it would not encourage any British "appeasement" of Japan; and it refused to lend any tangible support for British resistance to Japan. In essence, the absence of a policy of collective security before 1940 precluded viable restraints on Japanese efforts to realize a "political and economic hegemony over large parts of East Asia." The penalty, of course, was Pearl Harbor, and the subsequent expulsion or retreat of all the European powers from Southeast Asia. Equally true, as Clifford writes, "What was lacking was not only the willingness to form an alliance which might stop Japan, but also the willingness . . . to make some concrete proposals to meet Japanese needs, and thus to divert her from the cause of her imperialism."

Yale University JAMES B. CROWLEY

AMBROISE PARÉ: SURGEON OF THE RENAISSANCE. By *Wallace B. Hamby*. (St. Louis: Warren H. Green. 1967. Pp. xxi, 251. $9.50.)

THIS biography is so obviously a labor of love and dedication that the task of criticism becomes difficult. Ambroise Paré, the "father of modern surgery," deserves serious scholarly study on the level of C. D. O'Malley's recent work on Vesalius. In the past a long series of devoted investigators and biographers has unearthed a surprising amount of information both about Paré himself and the conditions under which he worked. Professor Hamby, a prominent neurosurgeon, for all his devotion to the task, adds little that is new to the study of Paré or that has not been presented in other biographies of his subject available in English. He relies,

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as all other biographers have, upon J. F. Malgaigne's work, which was published in 1840, and while he utilizes the discoveries of more recent biographers to update Malgaigne's findings, he does not really set Paré in the historical context of the sixteenth century.

In a sense this biography might be called antiquarian rather than historical. In the century of the Reformation, where the religious wars afforded Paré an opportunity to experiment with his surgical techniques, Hamby is concerned only with whether Paré was Catholic or Protestant. He has not even placed Paré in the context of the medical or scientific events of the time, when a whole series of revolutionary discoveries was changing the attitude and outlook of Europeans. As far as I can ascertain, Hamby did not consult any of the standard historical reference works on the sixteenth century, and he ignored all the more specialized studies. But then, as a surgeon, he was probably not particularly concerned with such matters. What he has done is to combine Paré's various case reports, medical and autopsy records, and other such documents with the known biographical details to give a sort of historical case book of Paré's activities. Though earlier biographers had done some of this, Hamby does it much more comprehensively. The book should interest the dedicated physician who is an amateur historian, but it is not a real historical biography of Paré and his times. In fact, it tends to demonstrate those pitfalls that await all who work in medical history: it is not enough to understand medicine; the investigator must also be a historian. Perhaps this can best be achieved through a collaborative rather than an individual effort. The book is indexed and attractively printed, but it contains several errors, of typography as well as of fact.

San Fernando Valley State College VERN L. BULLOUGH

MAZARIN, LA FRONDE ET LA PRESSE, 1647–1649. By *Marie-Noële Grand-Mesnil*. [Collection Kiosque, Number 31.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 307. 8.50 fr.)

THE "Kiosque" series, devoted to "les faits, la presse, l'opinion," is a very ambitious scholarly-popular undertaking. The difficulties confronting a historical approach to "the press" become particularly evident in Number 31, the first to attempt a study of the period before 1830. The author is to be commended for her courage and her scrupulous reading of major source materials (particularly the Mazarinade pamphlets at the Méjanes library at Aix-en-Provence and in the municipal collection at Paris). However, she has not escaped the traps set by Clio for seventeenth-century historians. Hence, this short study is of only moderate interest for the scholarly audience.

In the introduction Grand-Mesnil hints at an imaginative approach to the subject, namely, the use of the *Fronde*'s pamphlets to see the "real state of the country" through an examination of the "state of opinion." Alas, like others before her, the author cannot free herself from the lure of "objective" history. Thus the Mazarinades fall into place as source materials to fill in the details of the *Fronde*. This approach is revealed by the heavy reliance on the *Journal du Parlement*, a straightforward, contemporaneous account rather than a biased tract. Frequently Grand-Mesnil does go beyond objective history, seeing the Mazarinades for what

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they were: attempts to sway opinion and reflections of the myths that the society of the *Fronde* believed in. Nevertheless, there is no systematic examination of the myths and image building of the *Fronde*. Less to be criticized is the tantalizing treatment of almost impossible questions such as the authorship of pamphlets, the purpose behind them, and their actual influence on opinion. Perhaps it would be just as well for future scholars of the Mazarinades to avoid such blind alleys and concentrate on the myths of mid-seventeenth-century France that the tracts reflect.

It would be a pity to end this review without drawing attention to some very exciting and provocative points buried in the middle of the book. The religious overtones in political pamphlets were strong: rebels "sinned" against God; or were faithful subjects, whose punishment by Anne was a "sacrilege." And the Spanish devout movement against Richelieu reappeared in pleas for international, Christian harmony. Secular, nationalist historians should re-evaluate their assumptions!

University of Southern California A. Lloyd Moote

L'INFLUENCE FRANÇAISE ET LE SENTIMENT NATIONAL FRANÇAIS EN FRANCHE-COMTÉ: DE LA CONQUÊTE À LA RÉVOLUTION (1674–1789). By *Bernard Grosperrin*. [Cahiers d'Études Comtoises, Number 11. Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, Volume LXXXV.] (Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1967. Pp. 131.)

Publication of this *Diplôme d'Études Supérieures* fifteen years after its completion may indicate the favorable status of its theme: that the assimilation of a hostile and backward province between 1674 and 1789 was due to the genius of French civilization.

Franche-Comté was pacified, but not won over by the monarchy. Gallican policies were unheeded by the staunchly ultramontane episcopacy until the very eve of the Revolution (an execution for blasphemy occurred in 1769). The status of the area as a *province réputée étrangère* apparently did little for economic growth or public opinion. The parlement at Besançon resolutely defended the local liberties guaranteed in the capitulations of 1674. While there were exiles in 1759, in a clash with the intendant not well explained here, the *parlementaires* were largely out of touch with their colleagues, opposing the expulsion of the Jesuits and constituting 30 per cent of the exiled magistrates at Mannheim. Intendants and subdelegates, even the capable and moderate Charles de Lacoré (1761–1784), failed to instill confidence in the leadership of royal officials.

The author's conclusion follows by elimination. Parisian influence in the decorative arts, especially in domestic architecture, and the appearance of an affluent urban society, with its charities, its theater, its Parisian journals, constituted successful penetration of the province after about 1761. The exact result of these "outside" influences is not clear, for the province after 1789 is characterized as both patriotic and federalist.

The conclusion is not easy to find in a work divided into three periods (1674–1715, 1715–1761, 1761–1789) and six subdivisions ranging from the parlement to economic life. The footnotes attribute most of the hard evidence to the papers of the parlement, and the work is most useful in outlining the attitude of the sover-

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eign court toward royal policy. Information on economic and cultural life is sparse and nonquantitative, while there is too much detail on the clergy. There is no concept of public opinion here other than a sampling of pamphlets. The narrative is further complicated by the omission of publication dates from footnotes, making it impossible for the untutored reader to distinguish contemporary from modern works.

Throughout this ambitious monograph the reader must assume that France had consciously undertaken a mission of assimilation. Conversely, the people who responded to the royal initiative are said to represent the province rather than their order or their city. It would be unfair to expect the precision of argument of Franklin Ford's *Strasbourg in Transition* in a book one-half its size, but local and general history alike would benefit from a more careful description of the intransigent *parlementaires* of 1759 or an explanation of why the sword rather than the robe threw in their fortunes with the monarchy.

University of Pennsylvania PERRY VILES

JEAN PELLET, COMMERÇANT DE GROS, 1694–1772: CONTRIBUTION À L'ÉTUDE DU NÉGOCE BORDELAIS DU XVIII[e] SIÈCLE. By *Jean Cavignac*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI[e] Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Number 31.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1967. Pp. 406. 58 fr.)

THE author has prepared a scholarly volume on the business career of Jean Pellet that should be of primary interest to the economic and business historian. The period covered was one of relative peace in which an aggressive merchant could accumulate a great fortune were he willing to take the risks involved in foreign trade. The institutions and techniques of eighteenth-century business are distinctly described and cover such topics as navigation, marine insurance, business organization, bookkeeping, and financial operations. The conversion chart for local, colonial, and foreign monies established values in trade and wealth accumulation.

The writer clearly unfolds Pellet's rise from a modest middle-class family to a wealthy Bordeaux merchant-landowner. While in colonial Martinique, he capitalized on his marriage through his wife's dowry and family business connections. Then, returning to Bordeaux, he formed partnerships and companies to operate in the risky colonial sugar trade with all of its ramifications, and he gained great wealth. From there, he shrewdly moved into various European markets where his success continued to overshadow any occasional loss.

The reader is able to follow readily the maneuvering of Pellet from one scene of action to another so as to adjust to the variable markets, to reliable sources of supply, or even to war risk which combined to establish his acumen as a successful merchant. Soon, he acquired many ships and excellent business connections throughout Europe. His steadily accumulated wealth was reflected in his account books.

The selective choice of materials by the author described the details of the sugar and indigo industries and provided very penetrating information on specific areas of trade, as, for example, the trade in Irish beef or the monopoly at Spanish

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Caracas. Parallels in the colonial trade can be drawn that might well create interest for American colonial historians.

That portion of the book dealing with Pellet's personal family affairs and his struggle to attain noble status became rather tedious reading. While it afforded insight into his personality behavior, it had little value in terms of business strategy.

The volume has satisfactory indexes and period maps. The extensive bibliography and documentation distinctly enhance the presentation. It should take its rightful place as a basic French reference for economic historians.

University of Alabama FRANK E. DYKEMA

AGRONOMIE ET AGRONOMES EN FRANCE AU XVIII[e] SIÈCLE. In three volumes. By *André J. Bourde.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI[e] Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Les hommes et la terre, Number 13.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1967. Pp. 595; 598–1192; 1194–1740. 180 fr. the set.)

IN this massive study Bourde describes the eighteenth-century effort to modernize French agriculture. Those who read it will learn all there is to know about progress in French agricultural theory, research, experiment, invention, propaganda, and legislation from 1750 to 1789. They will also learn about "the old agriculture" and its faults and the structures, attitudes, and property rights that thwarted a French agricultural revolution and stifled the kind of growth that would have solved one of the key social and economic problems of the old regime. It is an important work. There is nothing in its field that rivals it. Anyone interested in French social and economic history or the history of science and technology will read it with profit.

After 250 pages on agricultural reformers from 1563 to 1750, Bourde introduces Duhamel de Monceau, whose *Traité de la culture des terres suivant les principes de M. Tull, anglais,* the first volume of which appeared in 1750, launched *agronomisme.* Duhamel's doctrines became the programs of a movement. For forty years the *agronomes* struggled to bring unused land under cultivation, enclose improved fields and meadows against common grazing rights, improve the cultivation of crops and exploitation of forests, breed better livestock, introduce better tools, develop veterinary science and training, and establish societies of agriculture whose members would experiment, innovate, and educate the rural population in the new techniques. One enthusiast for these programs was H.-L. Bertin, controller general from 1759 to 1763, who, after his dismissal, was allowed to serve the government until 1780 as an unofficial minister of agriculture. As in so many other matters, the central bureaucracy took the initiative for reform. But the local interests, including peasant communities and parlements, generally opposed reform, and the intendants, sensitive to local pressures, often sided with them. Many a promising venture was killed by litigation. For these and other reasons, France had no agricultural revolution, and the old regime collapsed in an agrarian disaster that accelerated beyond anyone's expectations the popular insurrections of 1789.

Bourde's documentation is enormous. His bibliography is itself a contribution

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and shows what immense labor he has accomplished since 1953, when he published his *Influence of England on the French Agronomes.* Yet there are reservations. No one, for example, who reads these pages with close attention will agree with Bourde that *agronomie* was "born and developed in an essentially bourgeois class," as stated in the third volume on page 1563. All his evidence shows that the leading *agronomes* from Duhamel on belonged to the aristocratic establishment, and their passion for the soil reflected the agrarian values of a precapitalist society. One also regrets that Bourde ended his story with 1789. By so doing he threw out the testimony of the rural *cahiers* and petitions of the early Revolution, in which the peasants spoke for themselves, and he missed a chance to show that the Constituent Assembly was as powerless as the old regime to modernize French agriculture. Finally, he seems overly committed to defending *agronomisme* against charges of ineffectuality. Whenever he admits its failures, as he always does, he adds compensating tributes that tend, by force of language, to outweigh the admission, and there are places in the last chapter where sequences of rhetorical questions are substituted for assertions. These devices tend to obscure the fact, manifest in Bourde's evidence, that the agronomers could have had only a marginal impact on French agriculture. This is confirmed by the statistics on agricultural growth in eighteenth-century France published by J.-C. Toutain in 1961. However controversial Toutain's figures might be, they are the best we are likely to get, and Bourde should have explained why he has ignored them. Broadly interpreted, they indicate that production grew slightly and productivity hardly at all, so that no safety margin was built up to avert or modulate the subsistence crisis of 1788–1789.

Taking these objections into account, however, it remains true that we have in these volumes one of the most remarkable books on the last decades of the old regime to have been written in recent years, a work of which the scope and importance far exceed those implied in its title, a work whose author is unrelenting in research and skillful in the use of sources. One of the reasons for Bourde's success is that, unlike many academicians, he knows the practical details of farming. Contrary to what Arthur Young wrote about the Abbé Rozier, M. Bourde does know the right end of a plow.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill GEORGE V. TAYLOR

ACTES DU COLLOQUE ROBESPIERRE: XII[e] CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES SCIENCES HISTORIQUES (VIENNE, 3 SEPTEMBRE 1965). Preface by *Albert Soboul.* [Bibliothèque d'Histoire révolutionnaire, Third Series, Number 7.] (Paris: Société des Études Robespierristes. 1967. Pp. xiii, 330.)

IT turned out to be a useful idea to have an international colloquium on Robespierre at the Twelfth International Congress of the Historical Sciences at Vienna in 1965 and to publish the papers of the participants. In this volume there are twenty-seven papers, thirteen on Robespierre as viewed by his contemporaries in different countries and fourteen on Robespierre in the historiography of various countries, including the United States, Egypt, and Japan. The authors include some of the most distinguished members of the historical profession: Marc Bou-

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loiseau and Jacques Godechot of France, Walter Markov of Germany, and Robert R. Palmer of the United States. All papers are at a high level of scholarly competence and excellence.

The first reaction of the reader may be that the participants are able men who are exercising their real talents on what is essentially a gleaning operation about a historical character who is not, to speak frankly, one of the world's greatest personalities. More than one author is compelled to remark that Robespierre did not figure significantly in the contemporary comment of a given country. Nor does he always loom large in a country's current historiography. Also, an observant reader would notice that the volume is pervaded by a mild bias in favor of Robespierre. Criticism of him tends to be regarded as a somewhat unfortunate deviation from truth. If the reader stopped with these observations, however, he would be seriously misled. Attitudes of contemporaries and of historians to Robespierre tended to be a touchstone of their attitudes toward democracy, the terror, the First French Republic, and the French Revolution. In digging for public opinion about Robespierre in many countries and among many social groups, the twenty-seven authors accumulated a tremendous amount of data about international public opinion on these broader subjects. The data should be immensely useful in affirming and enlarging our knowledge of the international civil war that was raging in Western civilization at the close of the eighteenth century.

Duke University HAROLD T. PARKER

FRENCH SOCIETY AND CULTURE SINCE THE OLD REGIME: THE ELEUTHERIAN MILLS COLLOQUIUM, 1964, OF THE SOCIETY FOR FRENCH HISTORICAL STUDIES AND THE SOCIÉTÉ D'HISTOIRE MODERNE. Edited by *Evelyn M. Acomb* and *Marvin L. Brown, Jr.* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1966. Pp. xvii, 296. $5.95.)

IN preparing for publication the twelve papers and one formal comment that make up this volume, the editors faced a task more difficult than that usually attendant upon putting together a collection of essays: they had to create—as earlier the organizers of the Franco-American colloquium at which these papers were read had had to do—some kind of thematic unity out of a great diversity of topics. The able editors, in spite of the seeming unrelatedness of the subjects treated, found that, taken all together, the essays do in fact revolve around "some causes of revolution and the impact of revolution and war upon French society and on certain nations closely associated with France since the eighteenth century." The book's four parts make possible a sharp focus upon selected elements within this very broad frame: "Economic and Social Development"; "Liberalism, Christianity, and the Revolutions of 1848"; "The French Image of Russia and Russian Views of France"; and "France and the Second World War."

Given such varied emphases, it would be unrealistic to expect every article to hold the same degree of interest for each reader. One over-all value of the collection is the way individual essays illustrate major differences between French historians and American historians of France in their attack upon their material: French scholarship tends to be minutely preoccupied with the sources and un-

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compromisingly detailed; American scholarship, more concerned with an overview and more pliant and graceful. As with all generalizations, any statement of different tendencies must be taken guardedly, for several articles reflect the best of both worlds. Among them are Louis Girard's interpretation of "Political Liberalism in France, 1840–1875," and Shepard Clough's hard-facts analysis of "Social Structure, Social Values, and Economic Growth." In at least one instance the juxtaposing of a French and an American historian resulted in admirably complementary studies: Jacques Droz's "Religious Aspects of the Revolutions of 1848 in Europe" and Joseph N. Moody's "French Liberal Catholics, 1840–1875."

Because all of the articles were initially designed for oral delivery, inevitably some have fared better than others in print. For example, the maps and charts that make up half of Marcel Reinhard's "Demography, the Economy, and the French Revolution" lose impact when separated from the author's live commentary. In contrast, the notes that here accompany William Langer's "The Pattern of Urban Revolution in 1848" add a further scholarly dimension to his earlier remarks. The printed text of J.-B. Duroselle's "France and the Crisis of March 1936" omits the speaker's amusing observations on Ambassador François-Poncet's prolixity, although John C. Cairns's rather severe critique of Duroselle makes specific reference to this point.

Inescapably the essays in this volume bear the mark of having been prepared for a particular meeting, which was in itself quite outside the ordinary run of scholarly conferences in America. The appeal of these papers will be largely to persons professionally concerned with France. Of potentially wider appeal are the Moody article since it examines the unpublished correspondence of Montalembert and Orestes Brownson and the brief exploration by Crane Brinton of the problems met in the "associationist" and "dissociationist" schools regarding the French and Russian Revolutions.

The translations, each by a different American scholar, are well done; they manage to preserve the individual flavor of every French speaker's style.

American University JEAN T. JOUGHIN

JACQUES ROUX ODER VOM ELEND DER BIOGRAPHIE. By *Walter Markov*. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1966. Pp. 111. DM 7.50.)

A GROWING number of scholars, including Albert Soboul, Kare Tønnesson, R. R. Palmer, R. B. Rose, George Rudé, and Richard Cobb, have undertaken the task of unraveling the complex history of popular democracy in the French Revolution. Professor Walter Markov, himself a noted student of the popular movement, has now provided a useful guide to the literature of an important aspect of this problem.

In a brief twenty-eight-page essay Markov describes the changing interpretations of the nature and impact of the *enragé* faction and one of its leading spokesmen—Jacques Roux. In the nineteenth century conservative commentators on the Revolution dismissed Roux as a bloodthirsty anarchist with a passion for destruction who outdid Marat in calls to revolutionary violence. Later authors came to regard Roux and his fellow agitators as part of the Left-wing opposition to the

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Committee of Public Safety, but they generally failed to distinguish the *enragés* from the *Hébertistes*. When seeking revolutionary antecedents for their own movement, socialist historians like Jaurès looked to the life and work of Robespierre and Babeuf, while ignoring the popular partisans like Roux. Modern scholars have revised these judgments. They show that the popular movement of 1793–1794 had many facets and that Roux and his allies were for a time quite influential. By giving voice to the popular demands for direct democracy, price controls, cheap food, and vigorous action against the internal and external foes of the Revolution the *enragés* played an important role in forcing the Jacobin power structure to grant concessions to the sans-culottes in order to retain their loyalty. Roux was then an important figure in a significant social movement.

The most valuable part of Markov's book is the lengthy section of footnotes that provide a detailed survey of works dealing with the revolutionary populace. Markov covers the works of all schools of interpretation from royalist to Marxist. Nor does he confine himself to French scholarship, for he also supplies information on the work of Russian, American, English, and German historians. Finally, he supplies a survey of source materials available in Paris and in provincial archives. This solid historiographical study will be of considerable interest to students of the social question and the popular revolutionary movement, and it provides an excellent background for those who wish to undertake more detailed studies.

University of Texas STEVEN T. ROSS

NAPOLEON AS MILITARY COMMANDER. By *Sir James Marshall-Cornwall*. ([Princeton, N. J.:] D. Van Nostrand Company. 1967. Pp. 308. $8.95.)

SIR James proposes to cover Napoleon's entire career as a military commander, with proper attention to his interwined activities as a statesman. He also reviews Napoleon's formative years and the legacy he drew from such military theorists as Bourcet and the Du Teils. There are a good chronological table, a bobtailed bibliography, and eighteen maps—most of them good. At the end of each chapter the author attempts an analysis of the events described therein.

The tone is stuffy: Napoleon contributed nothing new to the art of war, in strategy, tactics, or weapons; Liddell Hart so pontificated, and that suffices. He was a sort of expert military plumber, supremely skillful in using existing tools. This is the Napoleon of pre-1940 English historians, devoid of personal virtues, if an admitted military genius.

The author's coverage of the Napoleonic Wars is quite complete, especially if the relatively short length of his text is considered. Allowing for the author's built-in bias, it is roughly impartial. No words are wasted, but room is found to wedge in an occasional detail of interest. Taken as a whole, the book develops considerable drive, something like a falling brick wall.

It is unfortunate that most of the individual bricks are chipped, cracked, broken, or completely pulverized. There is hardly one really complete and accurate battle description in the whole book, and some are ridiculous. The author frequently seems ignorant of what troops were engaged and who was in command. The tactics involved get hashed, and the casualties become astronomical.

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(For Aspern and Essling, Sir James claims 44,000 French casualties out of the approximate 55,000 engaged and invents the statement that they "had to abandon most of their wounded.")

The whole book is studded with such chunks of nonsense: at Marengo, Kellermann charges with "two squadrons of the Consular Guard"; the Russians "recaptured Eylan" during that battle; one day's fighting disappears from the Battle of Leipzig; the separate 1814 battles of Brienne and La Rothière mysteriously become one affair; at Waterloo French infantry columns attack British infantry squares. The strategical "analysis" likewise contains nothing new, much that is dubious, and some flat errors. The whole effect is one of hasty writing and complete carelessness as to the results.

In sum, the book cannot be recommended for either pleasure or profit.

Falls Church, Virginia JOHN R. ELTING

PRESSE ET JOURNALISME SOUS LE SECOND EMPIRE. By *Roger Bellet.* [Collection Kiosque, Number 30.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 326. 8.50 fr.)

THE "Collection Kiosque" is another example of the French talent for popularization. The volumes already published are, as the title of the collection suggests, on the press. Several are studies of some aspect of the French press, but most of them deal with an event or movement as seen through French periodicals. Bellet's work is a bit of both; it is a history and description of the press during the Second Empire with the press as its main source.

The history, which is scattered throughout the volume, is too sketchy to be of much use to the historian. The author contrasts the 1850's, a period of "stagnation" for the press, with the 1860's, a period of "movement." His account of the government's attempts to control and guide the press are familiar, but his well-chosen examples of censorship suggest that inflexibility and lack of imagination may be occupational diseases of the censor.

More interesting and new than his history of the press is Bellet's description of French journals and of the work and customs of their editors and writers. The variety of the press during the Second Empire reminds one of a well-stocked supermarket magazine rack. The ingenuity of French publishers seeking to sell their products to the vastly increased reading public at times even surpassed that of twentieth-century American publishers; the owners of the journal *La Naïade,* for example, printed fifty copies on rubber for use in public baths, where they served both as reading matter and as towels. The *feuilleton,* a continued novel usually written especially for the press according to a tried formula, accounted for the success of some journals. Timothée Trimm, the first modern columnist, contributed to raising the circulation of *Le Petit Journal* to an unprecedented figure of 300,000. Largely by means of extracts from the press and memoirs, we follow a number of journalists from the moment of their decision to become writers to their subsequent first trembling visit to the famous editor and the acceptance of their initial article (usually uncompensated) and finally to their establishment in the profession.

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After strolling with Bellet along the boulevards and streets of Paris, through the journalists' *cafés,* to the fields of honor where they so often faced each other, and after meeting as individualistic a group of men as the profession has ever known, the reader would be ungrateful to complain that the author failed to use archival material and the results of recent scholarship, sources that might have been helpful on problems such as the economics of journalism and the relationship between the government and the press.

San Jose State College DAVID I. KULSTEIN

THE COMTE DE CHAMBORD: THE THIRD REPUBLIC'S UNCOMPROMISING KING. By *Marvin L. Brown, Jr.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 225. $8.00.)

POSTHUMOUS son of the Duc de Berry and grandson of Louis XVIII, Henri Comte de Chambord (1820–1883) never reigned in France and, when he died, the House of Bourbon died with him. Royalists placed their hopes in *l'enfant du miracle,* but his most concrete effect on the destinies of the promised land he scarcely touched after 1830 was to make possible the Third Republic by making a monarchist restoration impossible.

The greater part of Mr. Brown's book indicates the reasons and beliefs behind Chambord's failure to take advantage of the favorable situation of 1871–1873. Royalist politics as Professor Osgood outlined them a few years ago are not his main theme. Despite chapters on legitimist politics and diplomatic maneuvers, the book focuses on the royal personage itself, described from early youth to an end that contributes the cautionary tale of a healthy fat pretender dying because he dieted to be king.

Chambord's papers were destroyed after his death, but Brown has gathered his documents with exemplary industry and tells his story deliberately, with much detail of the pretender's life and ways. Little is said about the basis of legitimist support, about its socioeconomic implications, about the differences between rival monarchist groups and ideologies, about the rather intriguing (and by now familiar) conjunction between political reaction and a certain kind of social reformism. Here, however, is the first English-language biography of the man whom the Orléanists rightly called *Monsieur de Trop,* and, despite the biographer's sympathy for his subject, the book does nothing to contradict that view. Willy-nilly, it depicts a dull figure that bears out Thiers's judgment: "Un enfant ou un sot, doucement . . . obstiné," driven by the notion of his royal duties away from what he would really have liked to be: "a bourgeois and very rich. . . ."

The story really proves how much *men* count. One wonders what a personality like the Duc d'Aumale's would have achieved in the Bourbon's place. In the event, Chambord's importance was purely negative. His principles ensured inefficacy; his presence kept the Orléanists out. Hugo described his adherence to the white flag, which ended all chances of restoration, as a noble suicide. But the stuffed corpse persisted Ionesco-like long after it had become an anachronism, and its admirers with it. Monarchism remained a threat to the republic; legitimism ceased to be one after 1873. Brown's conclusion that Chambord "restored purity

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to the idea of absolute monarchy" merely makes the point that purity, like the pretender, was sterile.

University of California, Los Angeles EUGEN WEBER

CHARLES PÉGUY: THE DECLINE OF AN IDEALIST. By *Hans A. Schmitt.* ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 211. $6.00.)

PROPHET, poet, prig, and paranoiac, Charles Péguy (1873–1914) was one of the most interesting denizens of *fin-de-siècle* France: talented, pugnacious, intolerant, articulate, and intense. His works and his person, only narrowly noticed in his lifetime, were canonized after his death in battle and have since been used to serve the purposes of both Right and Left.

Most people read *either* Péguy's verse *or* his polemical prose, which often comes even closer to poetry. Mr. Schmitt has read all the *œuvre*. He compares its parts, traces the development they reveal and the twists between them, and does it with sensitivity and intelligence. The result is a novel picture of Péguy: the brilliant youngster destined to propel his family to glory and comfort, who flouts academic success for political commitment, gradually becomes a national socialist (or national populist), and takes out his frustrations in acerbity.

Here, then, is no hagiography but a critical treatment of works Schmitt finds too wordy, vain, unreal, or self-centered and of a man who, he argues, declines from moralism to egotism, from idealistic to amoral nagging. The tale of doctrinal decay and perversion is well told. Péguy appears an embattled and egocentric idealist determined to impose his absolute values, refusing to accept the validity of anyone else's, seeing himself as a lonely knight surrounded by foolishness, aberration, and treachery. No issues but his causes and *cahiers* deserved attention or won his understanding. His monomania could be as obtuse as it was acute.

But if *tout commence en mystique et finit en politique,* one should not forget the *déception domestique.* Schmitt has not had the opportunity to see the recently defended thesis of Robert Vigneault: *L'Univers féminin dans l'œuvre de Péguy* (1966). If he had, he might have paid more attention to the private life of a man whose work was always being done in spite of, rather than because of. The biographical background, swiftly sketched out in the first chapter because, Schmitt tells us, good biographies exist already, would have provided an essential counterpoint of this switchback life, as, I believe, of all lives. As it is, he gives us a suggestive, plausible, but, to me, not wholly convincing thesis that is well worth reading and debating.

University of California, Los Angeles EUGEN WEBER

PARIS 1900: THE GREAT WORLD'S FAIR. By *Richard D. Mandell.* ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 173. $8.50.)

DR. Mandell contends that the larger international expositions, or world's fairs, ought to be studied by the historian as reference points in style, art, and technol-

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ogy. He finds that they offer "a sort of comprehensive, though variously distorted, flash picture of world civilization at its particular epoch." The author has sought to demonstrate his thesis by telling the story of the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900.

As government-sponsored projects, French fairs had invariably served political purposes: to take part in the larger struggle against English competition (the first revolutionary and Napoleonic exhibitions); to compensate for political and diplomatic defeats and to aid in the consolidation of a new regime (the Exposition of 1878); and to clear away the debris of antiparliamentary insurgency (that of 1889). The Exposition of 1900, long and intensively planned and entrusted to well-trained administrators rather than transient and possibly inept politicians, was no exception. If it served as a rallying point for anti-Dreyfusard patriots in 1899, it acted as a tranquilizer in 1900 and helped to refurbish a tarnished French image. Highlights of the story include the sponsors' struggles with a reluctant Chamber of Deputies and with regionalists like Barrès and of course include descriptions of the fair itself, with its banquet for twenty thousand French mayors, its industrial exhibits, and its display of (predominantly academy) art and architecture.

Mandell appears to be stronger on the exposition than on the political and economic framework of the Third Republic in which it was set. (Clemenceau did not "begin to learn and master the trade of journalism" after his fall in the Panama scandal.) As the author readily acknowledges, moreover, he is on shakier ground when describing the fair itself as a factor for change. But he has succeeded in his main purpose of relating its history and describing its impact. In what appears to be a most thorough bibliography, Mandell graciously shares his knowledge of resources on almost all other fairs. As he states, the gaps should suggest tasks for other scholars. The University of Toronto Press is to be commended for having produced an unusually handsome book, especially noteworthy for the number and quality of its illustrations.

Carnegie-Mellon University LESLIE DERFLER

SPAIN: THE VITAL YEARS. By *Luis Bolín*. Foreword by *Sir Arthur Bryant*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1967. Pp. 396. $6.95.)

SR. Bolín's book is important as autobiography and extremely misleading as history. The best chapters are the first five, describing his role in arranging for the private plane that flew General Franco from the Canary Islands to Spanish Morocco on July 18, 1936, and Chapters XXII and XXIII, dealing with his trip to Rome and the dispatch of the first Italian planes to Morocco. His contacts with British sympathizers, with fellow monarchists like Juan de la Cierva (the inventor of the Autogiro) and Luca de Tena (owner of ABC, of which Bolín was the London correspondent), with Generals Sanjurjo and Franco, and with Count Ciano and the Italian aviators are all related with verve and circumstantial detail. It is fortunate that the author decided to recount in the first person those actions in which he was a direct participant or witness and to use third person for his narrative of other events. He states frankly that "it was easier to refer collectively

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to the 'Reds' than to mention in turn" the many political parties that supported the republic and later resisted the military revolt. Without the slightest hesitation or shrillness he repeats long-exploded falsehoods such as the charge that the Azaña government issued a "No prisoners and no wounded. Shoot 'em in the guts" order during the Casas Viejas anarchist rising in 1933.

In a short review I cannot even list all the inaccuracies and myths. Suffice it to examine one short, but crucial, paragraph: "The Spanish Civil War was a national movement against five years of misgovernment and oppression without parallel in the history of the country. The immediate objective of all who took part in the rising was to save Spain from disruption, preserve national unity, and prevent the rule of Communism upon its soil. The spark that set off the conflagration was the murder of Calvo Sotelo." The first sentence describes correctly the sentiment of a small minority of monarchists, fascists, and paranoid officers. For anyone else, including the majority of Franco partisans, talk of "oppression without parallel" is simply ridiculous. The phrases "national movement" and "all who took part" would lead the unwary reader to suppose that a great popular uprising was involved. Perhaps the author knows that the conservative Catholic bloc of Gil Robles, the largest party in opposition to the popular front, supported neither a monarchist nor a military rising. It is thus equally cautious and misleading to write "all who took part." The term "national unity" is understandable for those who considered the Catalan and Basque autonomy movements as treasonable, and the term "Communism" is understandable if one chooses to call everything from Azaña leftward "Red." The last sentence is factually correct, but nowhere in the text do I find any mention of the murder of Leftist officers to which the murder of Calvo Sotelo was a counteraction. Final warning: Appendixes II and III, dealing respectively with the relative armament of the two sides and with the destruction of Guernica, are totally misleading, but would require hundreds of words to analyze.

University of California, San Diego GABRIEL JACKSON

RECHERCHES SUR L'HISTOIRE DES FINANCES PUBLIQUES EN BELGIQUE. Volume I. By *M.-A. Arnould et al.* Preface by *G. Jacquemyns.* [Acta Historica Bruxellensia: Travaux de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, Number 1.] (Brussels: the Institut; distrib. by Éditions Universa, Wetteren. 1967. Pp. 397. 575 fr. B.)

THIS volume marks a promising beginning for an ambitious group of economic historians of the recently founded Institute of History at the University of Brussels.

The first article, which presents the methodology of the project, probably contains more of interest to the general reader than do the other contributions. Professor Stengers identifies three more or less original aspects of the task: its "diachronic" character, that is, intensive study of public finances at particular intervals over a five-century span, from the late Middle Ages to the twentieth century; its homogenous character, that is, an attempt to classify data with sufficient uniformity to permit comparisons over long time spans; and the broad use

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of the term "public finances" to include regional, provincial, and communal, as well as central government. He also wrestles with some of the major obstacles encountered in this type of research: the changing functions of the state and the resulting shifts in disbursement patterns; the comparability of money and purchasing power over time; and various methodologies of translating archaic monetary units into modern terms.

The second, and by far the longest, article is an application of the method, using as subject the funding and disbursement of welfare in Brussels in 1856 and in 1956, accompanied by copious tables and charts.

The other four articles in the collection illustrate in narrower compass the general theme of the project. Mlle. van Nieuwenhuysen's monograph on the financial organization of the lands of Philip the Bold leaves no doubt of the cluttered diversity of financial arrangements in the Burgundian states. Other contributions deal with the tax base in Tournai and its environs in the sixteenth century, the political and fiscal implications of the taxes levied by the Duke of Alva, and the peculiarities of taxation in Charleroi in the eighteenth century.

Falls Church, Virginia THEODORE B. HODGES

OLDENBARNEVELT. Volume III, BESTAND, 1609–1619. By *Jan den Tex*. (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon. 1966. Pp. xxiii, 808. 37.50 gls.)

ONE of the most charming characteristics of the Dutch in modern times is their habit of naming streets after all their national heroes, whatever their party, rather as if in the United States Burr Street were to intersect Hamilton Avenue or Lincoln Lane to run into Booth Plaza. In the seventeenth century, however, relationships were not so friendly as this custom would imply. As he grew older Jan van Oldenbarneveldt, advocate of Holland and the soul of the republic, became more and more difficult. Beset by gout and recurrent bouts of malaria as well as old age, he became more arrogant and dictatorial as his body grew weaker. Over the years he alienated a formidable body of opponents: the army, Amsterdam, Zeeland, the orthodox Calvinists or Counter-Remonstrants, the landward provinces, and those who distrusted the policy of alliance with France. Gradually these groups formed a party, which favored an English rather than a French policy, a stronger federal government rather than Holland dictatorship, orthodoxy, and of course jobs for its members. When the stadholder, Prince Maurice, joined this group its success was assured. Maurice led it to triumph, and the Synod of Dort, in 1619 by the not very judicial murder of a great man. Most of the political struggles of the Dutch to the end of the republic in 1795 are commentaries on the crime of 1619.

With his third volume Mr. den Tex ends his narrative of the life of Oldenbarneveldt. A fourth and final volume will contain essays on particular points and a master index. Since this is the first serious biography since that of John Lothrop Motley, it is in one sense something of an event. The research for the work was broad and deep: there are references in Czech as well as in English. But since in many ways Oldenbarneveldt *was* the republic, the text keeps breaking down into an old-fashioned narrative history rather than keeping within

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the limits of biography. And a very long history it is, too. Even so this is a major work for those with the patience to read it.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill STEPHEN B. BAXTER

CORRESPONDENTIE VAN MR. M. M. ROST VAN TONNINGEN. Volume I, 1921–MEI 1942. Edited by *E. Fraenkel-Verkade,* with the collaboration of *A. J. Van der Leeuw.* [Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen, Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie. Bronnenpublicaties, Documenten, Number 1.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1967. Pp. xiii, 974.)

M. M. ROST van Tonningen was the most prominent Dutch National Socialist after Mussert and the most complex and interesting NSB leader. Born in Indonesia, he completed his legal studies in Leiden and in the 1920's became a member of the League of Nations staff in Austria supervising League loans to that country. In Austria Rost was converted to National Socialism. Despite a suspect racial background ("Indonesian blood") he later fell in with the radical SS wing of the Nazi movement.

After joining the Dutch NSB in 1936 Rost saw himself as a rival of Mussert for leadership in the party. He became the chief exponent of the SS philosophy which advocated the outright integration of the Netherlands into the Greater German *Reich.* In 1940 the Germans first placed their bets on Rost, but soon decided that Mussert could command a larger following. They continued to use Rost, however, in a variety of prominent positions almost until the end of the war. After his capture in 1945 Rost committed suicide.

In a sense the title is overly modest since the introduction, which takes up approximately one quarter of the book, in effect provides a partial biography of Rost as a public figure to 1942. It is quite apparent that infinite care and painstaking research have gone into the preparation of the biographical sketch and of the documents. The collaboration of an economist (A. J. Van der Leeuw) with a historian (E. Fraenkel-Verkade) has made it possible to discuss with equal competence technical, economic, and general political problems. I found the biographical sketch most illuminating.

Most (258) of the 305 communications printed in the volume deal with the period of occupation. They have been selected primarily for the purpose of explaining Rost's public career. The selections include such materials as letters from public figures and personal friends.

The English section consists of a ten-page summary of the biographical sketch and an annotated listing of documents describing each in a sentence. More detailed summaries would have been helpful to the English reader.

The work is a monument to the kind of meticulous scholarship that characterizes the publications of the *Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie.* Together with the forthcoming second volume which will carry the story to 1945, this will be one of the building stones of the history of National Socialism in the Netherlands, which, as the introduction admits, remains to be written.

Pitzer College WERNER WARMBRUNN

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LAURENTIUS NICOLAI NORVEGUS S.J.: EN BIOGRAFI MED BIDRAG TIL BELYSNING AF ROMERKIRKENS FORSØG PÅ AT GENVINDE DANMARK–NORGE I TIDEN FRA REFORMATIONEN TIL 1622. By *Vello Helk*. [Kirkehistoriske Studier, udgivet af Institut for Dansk Kirkehistorie, Second Series, Number 22.] (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad. 1966. Pp. 516.)

WHEN Gustavus Adolphus took Riga in 1621, he encountered an old Norwegian Jesuit who had been active more than forty years earlier in attempts to regain Sweden for the Roman Catholic Church. This man, known as Klosterlasse (Cloister-Larry), is now the subject of a detailed biography by a professional archivist. Helk has done an extraordinarily thorough job of working through a great variety of unused or little-consulted sources as well as the published work related to Norvegus. He has been effective in his criticisms of a recent book by Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia . . .*, Volume I (1963), and his comments have appeared, along with those of others, in *Historisk Tidsskrift* (Norway) (XLV [No. 2, 1966], 125–94) and in a review article, "Rome et la Contre-Réforme en Scandinavie de 1539 à 1583" (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* LXI [No. 1, 1966], 119–31). It is Helk's knowledge of sources, such as those found in the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu,* that makes his contributions most valuable, but sometimes the very mass of details detracts from the biography.

Norvegus does not often emerge as an understandable human being. He was born in Oslo and studied at the University of Louvain where he became a Jesuit. In 1576 he was sent on a mission to Sweden where he remained until 1580. During this period, and for the balance of his life, he was deeply interested in the training of young Scandinavians for the reconversion of their countrymen. Except for one brief visit to Denmark in 1606, his contacts after his forced departure from Sweden were all by means of Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, and Finns who found their way to the various centers of Jesuit education where he labored such as Olmütz (Olmouc), Prague (Praha), Braunsberg (Braniewo), Riga, and Vilna (Vilnius) but also Vienna and Graz. The papacy did not place a high priority on the northern mission, and it may well be that the greatest importance of Norvegus and his disciples was to give substance to the Scandinavian fear of Rome and in this way to help bring about Lutheran uniformity. There are a summary in German and an index of names.

University of California, Riverside ERNST EKMAN

ADMIRAL HENRI KONOWS ERINDRINGER. Volume II, GUVERNØR—MINISTER—FLÅDECHEF: 1914–27. By *Tage Kaarsted*. [Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, Number 17.] (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1967. Pp. 371. 34 D. Kr.)

THIS second volume of Admiral Konow's memoirs is both less pleasant and more important than the first. The observant sailor (and familiar of Danish royalty) gives way to the frustrated executive and the opinionated politician. Simple nautical matters fade increasingly into the background. Some of the Danish

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naval operations in World War I are described, later the operation of the Copenhagen Navy Yard receives attention, and command problems are touched upon throughout. This book is, however, mainly a political testament by an ultraconservative whose career was in the navy.

Konow reveals his ideals on every page of his memoirs; the action is almost incidental. Sent to the Virgin Islands in 1916 to prevent a feared uprising of "the Blacks," he impresses (we are to believe) the "child-like" people with his steely nerves and impeccably correct behavior. Order is maintained! The same correctness also takes him through the sale of the islands to the United States in 1917. At that point, however, the memoirs begin to reveal profound regret and even a sense of betrayal—a tone that dominates to the end of the story. During the so-called "Easter Crisis" of 1920, for example, Konow eagerly took upon himself three portfolios in the caretaker government of Otto Liebe. He prepared, as Defense Minister, to meet the threat of general strike and possible insurrection, with strong nerves and, if necessary, force. Alas, the grapeshot was not needed. The King, who had asked Konow for his services, capitulated to the potential insurrectionists and dismissed the heroic caretakers. Until his retirement in 1927, Konow fought for effective defenses, for tradition, for responsibility, as he saw them. He won petty victories and major decorations, but even in his own memoirs he comes through as a man of only modest stature. The disaster in April 1940 was to vindicate some of his bitter judgments about weak men, politicians, and so forth, but his memoirs do not succeed in doing so, possibly because he tries so hard.

California Institute of Technology HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

THE ORIGINS OF THE MODERN JEW: JEWISH IDENTITY AND EUROPEAN CULTURE IN GERMANY, 1749–1824. By *Michael A. Meyer.* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1967. Pp. 249. $8.50.)

THIS brief doctoral essay deals with a transitional era of modern Jewish history which embraced, in Dr. Meyer's conception, both the intellectual awakening and the spiritual and psychological disjuncture of the middle-class German Jew. It was a period of traumatic self-identity. Although the Enlightenment had barely eroded Christendom's traditional Judaeophobia, the emergent Jewish intellectual was initially convinced that rationalism alone provided the fateful key to Jewish cultural emancipation, and after that to political and social acceptance by gentile Europe. The author capably describes the mastery of the rationalist genre by Moses Mendelssohn, the incomparable patriarch of the Jewish *Aufklärung;* the force of Mendelssohn's erudition and example in introducing Jewish literati to the wonders of German humanism; but ultimately Mendelssohn's involuted and self-defeating effort to reconcile Orthodox Judaism with the precepts of rationalism. Mendelssohn's disciples were hardly more successful. David Friedlander, for example, found traditional Judaism an anachronism and groped uncertainly for an alternative spiritual anchorage. Leopold Zunz, the magisterial figure of Jewish scholarship in modern times, employed historical and philological research as a sanctuary from the vapidity of Judaism and Jewish society in his own lifetime. The most poignantly ironical fate was reserved for Mendelssohn's

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own children and grandchildren, most of whom renounced the ancestral religion or were baptized as Christians.

Meyer explores the dilemma of Jewish protoemancipation with sensitivity and perception. He is at his best in his refreshing evaluation of such underrated figures in the early Christian-Jewish dialogue as the Marquis d'Argens, Christian Gellert, Charles Bonnet, and others even less well known, and in his deft interweaving of European and Jewish cultural patterns. Yet his study is not without its occasionally serious shortcomings. In conventionally citing the mid-eighteenth century as the dawn of modern Jewish intellectual history, the author ignores the recent seminal discoveries of the Israeli historian, Ben-Sasson, who has conclusively exposed a major Jewish intellectual awakening fully a century earlier. Similarly, Meyer does not avoid the young historian's familiar pitfall of ascribing cultural change exclusively to cultural influences; surely it was not rationalism alone which opened the initial fissure in the ghetto *Weltanschauung*. One wonders, too, what natural terminus Meyer finds in the collapse of the *Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden* in 1824. Far from becoming "segmental and hence problematical" in the 1820's, Jewish identity precisely then was beginning to be successfully defined by such forthright German-Jewish patriots as Gabriel Riesser, and Riesser's innumerable thousands of followers. Admittedly it is difficult to evaluate the changing cultural patterns of an entire transitional civilization, in the manner of Huizinga's *Waning of the Middle Ages,* for example. Yet in devoting the major portion of his essay to a small handful of rather familiar historical personalities, Meyer has not convincingly projected their cultural malaise onto the larger backdrop even of the literate elite of German Jewry. Perhaps in the last analysis it is the book's somewhat comprehensive title that leads us astray. Meyer's biographies in and of themselves are surely erudite and eloquent, an impressive maiden effort suggestive of even richer future creativity.

George Washington University HOWARD M. SACHAR

PREUSSEN ZWISCHEN REFORM UND REVOLUTION: ALLGEMEINES LANDRECHT, VERWALTUNG UND SOZIALE BEWEGUNG VON 1791 BIS 1848. By *Reinhart Koselleck*. [Industrielle Welt: Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für moderne Sozialgeschichte, Number 7.] (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag. 1967. Pp. 732. DM 84.)

THIS work, which is better described as a Prussian constitutional history, provides on the basis of an extensive search of unpublished sources and of the literature a systematic and fruitful analysis of the development of Prussian institutions and society between 1791 and 1848. By concentrating on the important points and by employing a skillful presentation, the author furnishes both a comprehensive survey and a stimulating account, full of valuable insights and conclusions.

To note a few: civil officials played a leading role in reforming the Prussian state; Svarez chose *Glückseligkeit* (happiness) as the basis of his political system, which found expression in the *Allgemeines Landrecht,* and he gave the right to own private property full recognition. Thus the modern Prussian constitutional development initially derived its fundamental ideas largely from the Enlightenment. But this was a reform from above that first affected the government itself,

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especially the army and the civil administration. Efforts to extend this movement further fell short of their aim, as major changes in the social structure, particularly in the feudal landholding system, could not be effected without serious modifications of existing property rights. The reaction that set in after 1815 resulted, moreover, in an increasing cleavage between *Geist* and *Staat,* a process that did not interfere, however, with a successful policy of promoting institutional change for the purpose of furthering economic development, which in turn solidified the role of vested interests.

By going back to 1791 the work properly stresses the impact of the Enlightenment on the regeneration of Prussia after 1806, and the role of its national German mission during this phase is accordingly depreciated. This approach is enhanced by the careful analysis of the *Allgemeines Landrecht* and of the body of public law that was derived from it. The result is a sound contribution that not only provides a penetrating re-examination and a reliable re-evaluation of this period, but that also can serve as a basis for a better understanding of the subsequent institutional and social development of modern Germany.

Library of Congress ARNOLD H. PRICE

LE ROMANTISME ALLEMAND ET L'ÉTAT: RÉSISTANCE ET COLLABORATION DANS L'ALLEMAGNE NAPOLÉONIENNE. By *Jacques Droz.* [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1966. Pp. 310. 21 fr.)

STARTING from the premise that European Romanticism at the end of the eighteenth century adhered to one body of political ideals, Professor Droz argues that German Romantics, in particular, reacted in identical fashion to the challenges of their times. That his initial assertion is untenable need not invalidate the author's attempt to demonstrate the German Romantics' predisposition to attitudes that might be loosely described as conservative. It does, however, indicate the flaw running through the length of this intelligent book: a tendency to overlook variety and ambiguity for the sake of developing a smooth synthesis.

After tracing the emergence of a political "doctrine" in the works of such writers as Möser, Novalis, and Arnim, Droz analyzes Romanticism in action against French ideas and French domination, as well as its links with the German people, which characteristically he believes owed much to necessity: if the Romantics wished to defeat Napoleon "they were obliged to appeal to Nationalism." He ends with a discussion of the share Romanticism had in creating the policies of restoration Germany. The book's most valuable sections are those that examine the interaction of religiously inspired groups and political Romanticism. The author, however, does little to substantiate his claim that the Romantics turned Catholicism into the most powerful antidote to the French Revolution in Germany, and even less to support his related argument that conservative and reactionary elements provided the most effective resistance to Napoleon. Other conclusions, offered as rectifications of the traditional view of German history, are scarcely more than elegant tilting at straw men. Who today would suggest that in the first decade of the nineteenth century liberalism and nationalism were necessarily linked, or that it was due only to Metternich, or the German governments, that reform eventually failed?

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The unevenness that marks the book's over-all argument is equally evident in its separate parts. Some figures, notably Friedrich Schlegel and Metternich, and certain trends such as the developing notion of a supranational Austrian fatherland are discussed with great insight and clarity. Elsewhere the impression cannot be avoided that out of the proliferation of men and ideas only those are selected that advance the author's thesis. For example, to expose the conservatism of the Prussian reformers ten pages analyze the views held by Stein and "two of his closest collaborators," Arndt and Nicolovius, but far more influential colleagues of Stein, to whom the Romantic-conservative label can be attached only with difficulty—Schön, Vincke, J. G. Frey, Klewitz, among others—are mentioned only in passing or not at all.

It is the merit of Droz's study that it compels us to think more carefully about the political passions of a generation whose apolitical musings are too often emphasized. We can go further and agree that the intervening 150 years show that on balance German Romanticism has had the effect of strengthening the authoritarian forces in German history. But that is far from saying that in their lifetime the German Romantics, however defined, possessed common political and social attitudes, which found their inspiration and sought their fulfillment essentially in values of the past.

University of California, Davis PETER PARET

SOZIALPOLITIK UND SOZIALE ANSCHAUUNGEN FRÜHINDUSTRIELLER UNTERNEHMER IN RHEINLAND-WESTFALEN. By *Ludwig Puppke*. [Schriften zur Rheinisch-Westfälischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte, New Series, Number 13.] (Cologne: Rheinisch-Westfälischen Wirtschaftsarchiv zu Köln. 1966. Pp. 317.)

DIE POLITIK DES VERBANDES DER BERGARBEITER DEUTSCHLANDS VON DER NOVEMBERREVOLUTION 1918 BIS ZUM OSTERPUTSCH 1921 UNTER BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER VERHÄLTNISSE IM RHEINISCH-WESTFÄLISCHEN INDUSTRIEGEBIET: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GEWERKSCHAFTLICHEN AUSEINANDERSETZUNG MIT DEN LINKSRADIKALEN STRÖMUNGEN NACH DEM STURZ DES KAISERREICHS. By *Manfred Dörnemann*. ([Bochum: Berg-Verlag GmbH.] 1966. Pp. 271.)

HERE are two examples of German doctoral dissertations, both dealing with aspects of the history of labor. This they have in common and little else. In their own ways, they are both competent pieces of work, but their methodologies are different. Dörnemann's work follows the standard, descriptive method; presumably he has marshaled all the extant information pertinent to the topic. A detailed, exhaustive monograph is the result, and it often exhausts the patience of the reader.

I must confess that I prefer Puppke's method, which reflects the approach of such persons as Hermann Kellenbenz, Puppke's presumed mentor at the University of Cologne. The author scrutinizes the social policies toward factory labor, keeping in mind the special perspective of the enterpriser in Rhineland-Westphalia in the nineteenth century.

As elsewhere at this time, people were concerned with the questions of child

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labor, women in factories, wages and hours, plant accidents, and the truck system. Puppke treats these questions and relates the interplay between the responses of governmental authorities (local and otherwise) and private enterprisers. In a number of instances this work supplements if it does not duplicate the important study by Hans J. Teuteberg, *Geschichte der industriellen Mitbestimmung in Deutschland* (1961).

Where Puppke's work is analytical in structure and deals with some of the more prosaic, basic problems of labor, Dörnemann provides the reader with an intensive view of the highly dramatic days following the end of World War I. Here it is a question of organized labor and its actions during the days when Germany's governmental structure was in the balance. We get a close view of the internal strains within labor where anarchists, conservatives, and progressive socialists vied for control. To these internal, mostly doctrinal problems are added the even more pressing external ones, such as, above all, the Kapp *Putsch* and the equivocal position taken by the army.

Both Dörnemann and Puppke completed their exercises well and clearly demonstrated their professional competence. In the process they made modest contributions to knowledge. Neither showed great imagination in approach; both, however, show promise for the future.

Tulane University HERMAN FREUDENBERGER

ZWISCHEN BEBEL UND BISMARCK: ZUR GESCHICHTE DES LINKSLIBERALISMUS IN DEUTSCHLAND 1871–1893. By *Gustav Seeber*. [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte. Series 1, Allgemeine und deutsche Geschichte, Number 30.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1965. Pp. xv, 226.)

WESTERN historical research has lagged behind Marxist scholarship in exploring policies of the liberal parties of the Left in Bismarckian Germany. The former has too strongly emphasized the ideological, psychological, and diplomatic aspects of political problems that confronted the Progressive and *Freisinnige* parties. It has tended, conversely, to disparage class motives of their attitudes toward government military policy. The present work is, like related studies by Dieter Fricke, Gertrud Theodor, Rolf Weber, Thomas Höhle, Robert Naumann, Ursula Hermann, and other East German historians, a corrective to Western appraisals.

Based upon a doctoral dissertation written at the Karl Marx University of Leipzig, Seeber's work is in no sense a history of German progressivism but a minute and copiously documented treatment of two problems: the attitude of the liberals of the Left toward "Prussian-German militarism," and their policy toward the socialist movement.

If one accepts the postulate that the Bismarckian regime was "militaristic," Seeber's conclusions are ineluctable. They are that the Bismarckian internal system was a "Bonapartist dictatorship"; the gradual extension of the power of the military apparatus was the principal means by which the Chancellor maintained his position; and the tragedy of liberalism of the Left lay in its unprincipled rejection of alliance with the mass, democratic movement. Unfortunately the au-

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thor uses the word "militarism" indiscriminately and errs in confusing it with simple military policy.

Seeber's central contention is that, since the Socialist party was prepared to take up the struggle against the Bismarckian "dictatorship," primary responsibility for the failure of a democratic, popular opposition to develop must rest with the liberals of the Left. When the latter did not fight the anti-Socialist law of 1878, they compromised their own integrity, subverted their ideal of a government of laws, and played directly into the hands of the *Junker*-capitalist condominium over Germany. The fusion in 1884 of the Progressives with the National Liberal Secessionists to form the German *Freisinnige* party only corrupted further the party of Richter and Von Forckenbeck. Thereafter the policy of the liberals of the Left was stated by the Secessionists, who were economically linked to the *Deutsche Bank* and the finance capitalists and had no heart for the overthrow of the existing political system.

Because they had no foreign policy of their own, the *Freisinnige* were blind to the close connection between Bismarck's foreign policy goals and his internal program. The pusillanimous retreat of the liberals of the Left in all capital questions before the Chancellor's *Machtstaatsgedanken,* avers Seeber, prepared the way for the material and ideological ascendancy of German militarism, the foe of democracy and world peace. More specifically, it doomed the bourgeoisie to dwell until 1918 in political shallows and miseries.

Written in succinct, pellucid language, this monograph is buttressed with detailed evidence drawn from exhaustive research into the relevant published sources and unpublished material in the East German Central Archives and the Brandenburg Provincial Main Archives at Potsdam and at the Merseburg division of the Central Archives. The footnotes testify to the author's familiarity with the voluminous secondary literature on the subject. Although uncompromisingly hostile to Bismarck and uncritically laudatory of Socialist policy, this work is not unimportant. It possesses the merit of having shown how radical liberalism led the German middle class to within sight of the promised land of the *Rechtstaat,* but was, like Moses, fated never to enter it.

Nebraska Wesleyan University WILLIAM H. MAEHL

MAX SCHELER, 1874–1928: AN INTELLECTUAL PORTRAIT. By *John Raphael Staude.* (New York: Free Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 298. $6.95.)

PROFESSOR Staude's purpose is to "explain the development of Scheler's social and political ideas," but he manages in passing to comment perceptively on other interests of this far-ranging German philosopher. Biographical data hitherto unavailable, assembled with care and tact, support the book's central thesis that Scheler's personality, turbulent and erotic, had a decisive influence on the unfolding of his thought. He was also attuned to the stormy time during which he lived, that of the First World War, the German defeat, and the Weimar Republic. His method was phenomenological, faithful in the main to Husserl's directives. But his instincts were conservative, leading him to commend Plato's concept of the "rulers" and to sense a kinship with Nietzsche, rightly apprehended of course and not bastardized in the Nazi way. Supporting during his first period the

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Prussian monarchy and Germany's "destiny," he all but seemed a Bavarian counterpart of France's Léon Daudet. But as the war deepened into tragedy and defeat his role became that of political and sociological exhorter concerned with problems of leadership and of Europe's cultural and social future. The years when as a convert to Roman Catholicism he stood at the center of the intellectual quest and creativity which seemed for a while to give the Church new life are described by Staude with rare skill in what Dilthey termed *Einfühlung*. Scheler's books of that period were characterized by profound pessimism concerning the future of mankind, increasingly at odds with nature and hemmed in by a technocratic bureaucracy, and yet also by the belief that, as Staude writes, "the ultimate goal of human life was for the individual to become 'like God.'" After the abandonment of Catholicism he espoused a creed that on the one hand called for service to "this world" and on the other hand for contemplation in the presence of a God patterned after the deity of Oriental philosophy but still in the process of "becoming."

Staude's book is effectively written in view of the great complexity of the sociological philosophy under consideration. One might quarrel here and there, particularly when it is argued that a Drydenesque opportunism was part of Scheler's character.

University of Notre Dame GEORGE N. SHUSTER

DZIEJE HAKATY [History of the HKT Society]. By *A. Galos et al.* Edited by *Janusz Pajewski*. [Studium Niemcoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego, Number 10.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1966. Pp. 486. Zł. 75.)

THIS collective work by an East German and two Polish scholars on the history of the so-called HKT duplicates to a certain degree a volume published on the same subject by an American scholar (Richard W. Tims, *Germanizing Prussian Poland: The H-K-T Society and the Struggle for the Eastern Marches in the German Empire, 1894–1919* [1941]). There are, however, two basic differences in the volumes: Tims limited his work to the period from the founding of the HKT in 1894 to the end of World War I, whereas the present authors extended their work to the liquidation of the society in 1934; Tims based his work almost entirely on German publications by and about the HKT, whereas the three authors had, in addition to the same material, access to the well-preserved archives of the society in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv in Merseburg.

The official name of the HKT was *Verein zur Förderung des Deutschtums in den Ostmarken* (Society for the Promotion of Germanism in the Eastern Provinces); the abbreviation stands for the initials of the founders: Hansemann, Kennemann, and Tiedemann. The officially advertised purpose of the society was to defend the interests of Germans living in the Polish-speaking areas of the eastern provinces of Germany. The actual purpose was quite different: to Germanize these areas by destruction and displacement of the Polish population and its political, social, and economic institutions.

Bismarck's Kulturkampf in these areas started the struggle against the Poles exactly along these lines. When the Iron Chancellor was replaced by Caprivi, the latter needed the Polish votes in the *Reichstag* in order to balance the opposition.

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To secure these votes he was compelled to install a policy of conciliation toward the Poles, which in turn created a panic among the Germans in the eastern provinces. The disappointed *Junkers* and recent settlers turned to Bismarck and found sympathetic support because it fitted the offended Chancellor's policy of revenge against Caprivi. The appeal for the founding of the HKT preceded Caprivi's dismissal by two weeks.

The forty-year existence of the HKT falls into two periods: 1894–1918, when the society enjoyed the full support of the German government and local authorities in its aggressive Germanization of the eastern areas; from 1919 (when a large part of the Polish-speaking area of Germany returned to independent Poland) to June 1934, when the society organized and supported the disloyal and subversive activities of the German minority in Poland. Although this activity was still supported less openly by the Weimar Republic and developed along the eastern policy line of the Nazis, the HKT was dissolved by the Gestapo because it refused to submit to Hitler's policy of *Gleichschaltung* and delayed its incorporation into the *Bund Deutscher Osten,* the NSDAP's organization for the realization of the party's objectives in Eastern Europe.

Supported by abundant documentary evidence from the archives of the society, this volume dispels the myth that the HKT was a defensive organization that was protecting the Germans in the "Eastern Marches" from Polish aggressiveness. Even Tims, obviously influenced by his one-sided German sources, succumbed to this myth.

When one reads the documents of the HKT now, he is startled to discover to what degree Hitler and his "Eastern specialists" adopted the program and methods of the society. Their plans and procedures in Poland and the Baltic States during World War II are proof of this.

The volume is marred by some artificial Marxist interpretations and a twisting of historical facts in the post-1914 period; this, however, does not affect the validity of its documentary contribution.

Hoover Institution WITOLD S. SWORAKOWSKI

VON BASSERMANN ZU STRESEMANN: DIE SITZUNGEN DES NATIONALLIBERALEN ZENTRALVORSTANDES 1912–1917. Edited by *Klaus-Peter Reiss.* [Quellen zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien. Part 1, Von der konstitutionellen Monarchie zur parlamentarischen Republik, Number 5.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1967. Pp. 463.)

THIS valuable addition to the history of German political parties centers around the nearly complete stenographic reports of three meetings of the National Liberal Central Committee in 1913, 1916, and 1917, supplemented by brief accounts of two sessions in 1912 and 1915. Useful tables are included of the party statutes of 1892, 1905, and 1912, and the dates and places of Central Committee and convention meetings from 1902 to 1920. Of especial value is the list of delegates from 1913 to 1917 indicating their profession, parliamentary membership (if any), the areas they represented, and the parts they played in the sessions of 1913, 1916, and 1917. The exemplary introduction is reinforced by footnotes that contain every-

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thing necessary to elucidate the text; source references are extensive, though more authortative British and American works might have been used.

There is much to be gained here about the organization, sociological composition, and development of the National Liberal party. Particularly illuminating are the frank and uncensored appraisals of colleagues. Though a trend toward democratization of control may have been faintly evident, jurists, factory owners, and party functionaries tended to predominate as delegates. Tensions among National Liberal bureaucrats, the party press, and the *Reichstag* delegation are increasingly evident. The emergence of Gustav Stresemann as the party leader will perhaps evoke most interest, though viewed in retrospect Heinrich Prinz zu Schönaich-Carolath perhaps showed a wider political realism.

In foreign and domestic affairs, the ghost of Bismarck stalks powerfully through these pages. Compared to him party members saw little to praise in the actions of Germany's officials—least of all Bethmann. Criticisms of inept noble predominance in the diplomatic corps and administration were scathing. From 1912 delegates were advocating an increased army budget and a militant foreign policy. During the war this chauvinism turned toward a strong annexationist policy exemplified in the debates over the future of Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, and Belgium, and, the attitude to be taken toward the *Vaterlandspartei*. Opinion gravitated more and more to Hindenburg, Ludendorff, and Tirpitz. Even in 1917 there were dark hints of the people at home letting the army down. Criticism of Austria-Hungary was unrestrained, while dislike of France paled beside hatred of Britain.

Duke University FREDERIC B. M. HOLLYDAY

THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION: GERMAN MARXISM AND WORLD WAR I—1914–1919. By *John W. Mishark*. (Detroit, Mich.: Moira Books. 1967. Pp. x, 310. $7.50.)

THE author of this study praises recent West German contributions on the subject, criticizes previous American works, and curiously concludes that "the old American spirit lives on" in the interpretations of East German scholars. Thus we expect to find this volume superior in research, interpretive power, and literary quality to monographs by Abraham J. Berlau and others. The results are disappointing.

The author has done much honest research, but he has not used manuscripts now available in Europe, and one misses the important *Leipziger Volkszeitung* in the list of wartime newspapers that he consulted. Many of the author's generalizations are utterly reasonable, but some seem to be untenable, others contradictory. After rejecting on page ix the use of such "emotionally colored" words as "bureaucratic" to describe the SPD, Mishark tells us on page 53 that on the eve of 1914 "paid officials ran the party as a bureaucratic machine." On page 75 the SPD *Reichstag* delegation's vote for war credits in 1914 is presented as "an abrupt about face," but on page 245 it "was not a break with the party's Marxism." The evidence I know does not support the statement that "party papers exulted at the news that Germany and Russia were at war" or the assertion that after 1914 Majority Socialists "pointed out dangerous opponents" among Leftists for arrest by

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the police. The conclusion that the schism of German Socialists was between "tough-minded ones" and "gentle ones" appears to oversimplify the matter. The conjecture that "if war conditions had been different . . . Independent Socialists might have captured the party" seems scarcely more helpful than the conclusion that "the form of the party split was largely accidental." Social Democratic leaders are taken to task for letting the German people as a whole decide in 1918–1919 on Germany's future, but the author does not appear to like any better the alternatives they might have chosen.

The literary quality of this volume can most gently be evaluated by the general comment that it leaves something to be desired.

University of Pennsylvania JOHN L. SNELL

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1918: A STUDY OF GERMAN SOCIALISM IN WAR AND REVOLT. By *A. J. Ryder.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 303. $11.50.)

READERS of this study will find few surprises if they know the works by Berlau, Coper, Prager, Rosenberg, Schorske, and Volkmann. The author has used these earlier treatments of his subject, some of the more recent ones, and most of the published primary sources. In addition, he has consulted the unpublished memoirs of W. Dittmann, the wartime diary of Eduard David (now published), the Kautsky *Nachlass* at Amsterdam, and the minutes of the Council of People's Commissars and the *Zentralrat.* The older studies by Hans Herzfeld (1928) and R. H. Lutz (1922) might have been used to some advantage, and this is even truer of the excellent documentary collections edited by E. Matthias and R. Morsey on the *Interfraktionelle Ausschuss* and the government of Prince Max of Baden.

The generalizations most in need of more precise formulation are those that move away from the author's central subject—the German Socialists—into the larger political context in which the Socialists operated. It was, strictly speaking, Admiral Capelle, not Michaelis, who accused the USPD of instigating the 1917 naval mutinies; it was not July 1918 before Hertling proposed equal suffrage to the Prussian lower house; the evidence does not suggest that in November 1917 Lenin was "rather more sceptical" than Trotsky about the chances of revolution in Germany. More fundamentally, only by discounting the importance of political change can one consider what was done in November 1918 a failure and thus treat the decision to elect a constituent assembly as "the suicide of the German revolution." For the most part, however, Ryder has given us judicious and durable generalizations in admirably tight prose. He aptly remarks that "for most of its supporters" the revolution was "a movement for democracy even more than for socialism." (For many of them it was simply a way to end the war.) The author is too responsible to label any of the Socialists as traitors to the working class, and he understands them too well to portray them as heroes. Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and the Independent Socialists receive the criticism they merit, and the leaders of the SPD are not spared. Should Ebert, as Ryder suggests, have made greater use of the councils than he did, while insisting upon the election of the

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constituent assembly? Would the leaders of the councils have been content to see them become "a complementary, not a rival institution"? In the very data Ryder presents one can find reasons to doubt that there was any way to achieve both democracy and socialism in the Germany of 1918–1920, though he is reluctant to reach this conclusion.

University of Pennsylvania JOHN L. SNELL

ARBEITSMARKT VERBÄNDE UND STAAT, 1918–1933: DIE ÖFFENTLICHE BINDUNG UNTERNEHMERISCHER FUNKTIONEN IN DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By *Hans-Hermann Hartwich.* With a foreword by *Georg Kotowski.* [Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Number 23.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1967. Pp. xvi, 488. DM 78.)

THE contents of this volume are not self-evident from the title. It is, in effect, an analysis of collective bargaining during the Weimar Republic. "Analysis" is the proper word rather than "history" since the author evidently lacks any sense of style or structure that might have made his book more coherent and less repetitive. The resulting chronological morass may be partially explained by the fact that this is literally an expanded doctoral thesis; the original thesis (an excellent study of the Berlin metal industry) is left virtually intact and augmented by introductory and concluding chapters. Historians should find Hartwich's work a diligent presentation of evidence, a useful work of reference, a guide to pertinent German dissertations, a fund of statistics, a fair-minded treatment of a complex problem—everything but a readable history. It supplements, but certainly does not supersede, Ludwig Preller's *Sozialpolitik in der Weimarer Republik* (1949).

The book's format does not, however, entirely account either for its most serious omission or for its fundamental importance. The central theme—the precarious relationship between labor and management, specifically in heavy industry, and the role of the state as mediator between them—is insufficiently developed for the early years of the republic, but convincingly documented for the latter years.

Hartwich's failure to integrate his monographic work with the general history of Weimar from 1918 to 1923 is all the more distressing because it is precisely that phase of the republic which requires more careful attention than it has received. The author misses an opportunity to relate his account of the *Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft,* the principal organ of voluntary collective bargaining, to the ill-fated revolutionary innovation of the workers' councils. He completely ignores the research of several younger German historians (Eberhard Kolb and Peter von Oertzen, for example) that might have put his own investigation in better perspective.

The book's saving grace is its penetration into the years after 1928. Hartwich shows that most German industrialists, to judge by spokesmen such as Ernst von Borsig, were perfectly willing to engage in voluntary bargaining with trade-union representatives so long as management held the upper hand, as was the case during the period of recovery after 1923. By the end of the decade, however, the state had increased pressure on management by the progressive introduction of com-

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pulsory arbitration under the auspices of the *Reichsarbeitsministerium*. As the republic's economic condition worsened, the industrialists deliberately undermined the government's attempts to intervene on behalf of the unions and to find some way out of the crisis. While he constantly emphasizes the complexity of his subject, Hartwich reaches the unequivocal if unsurprising conclusion that the chief gravedigger of the republic was the industrialists' man in Berlin, Franz von Papen.

Despite the reservations registered here, no future historian of the Weimar Republic should fail to consult this book.

Smith College ALLAN MITCHELL

HITLER'S SOCIAL REVOLUTION: CLASS AND STATUS IN NAZI GERMANY 1933–1939. By *David Schoenbaum*. [Anchor Books.] (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1967. Pp. xxii, 324. $1.45.)

THIS book originated as a dissertation at St. Antony's College, Oxford. The editors of Doubleday are to be commended for publishing it not only in hard cover (1966) but also in the excellent Anchor Books paperback series. It deserves an accolade as an addition to the increasing literature on the Third *Reich*.

The opening chapter concerns the social promises of the Third *Reich*. Germany after World War I was badly damaged by the inflation of 1923 and the subsequent disintegration of the economy. There were similar crises elsewhere, but they were followed by convalescence. The key difference was that in Germany there was a permanent disaffection of the major social groups. Hitler came to power by miscalculation rather than by exclusive popular demand. Successful in combining a conglomerate of disparities (what the author nicely calls "the homogeneity of common disaffection"), Hitler appealed, not to all Germans, but in each case to some Germans: farmers, workers, businessmen, industrialists, women, and youths. His program offered something to everyone, including the mirage of a classless society with both equality and equal opportunity for all Germans (except German Jews).

In succinct, well-organized chapters the author examines the Third *Reich* and its relations to labor, business, agriculture, women, the state, social opportunity, and society. He shows how, step by step, accompanied by insensate hatred and economic catastrophe, the structure of German society collapsed, with nothing remaining but a kind of nudity composed of impotent rage, criminal malice, and a thirst for vengeance. "In the end, with the achievement of each partial goal, the destruction of unions and aristocracy, of Jews, and the Rights of Man and of bourgeois society, destruction was all that was left."

The author sees the basic issue as not political or economic, but social—"the problem of an arrested bourgeois-industrial society, convinced of its guilt feelings and its impotence of its own superfluousness, and prepared to destroy itself with the means of the very bourgeois-industrial society it aimed to destroy." This is a shrewd judgment, but colored, nevertheless, by the author's special concern with the social revolutionary aspects of the Hitler movement and with class and status. Schoenbaum is aware of the danger of trying to extract the whole apple from the

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applesauce. Political, economic, psychological, and social factors are so intermingled in the Nazi revolution that it becomes impossible to isolate "basic" or "ultimate" trends as of exclusive significance.

Schoenbaum's book is a valuable inductive study. Its synthetic purpose does much to explain the social process. Its analytical method, breaking down German society into constituent groups and examining their development, is the right way to examine the topsy-turvy land of Nazism. This is important work, as long as it is understood that the social process is one part of a complicated process.

Historians will continue to be fascinated by the spectacle of a highly civilized people gripped in the strait jacket of nihilism. In the search for explanation this volume is a first-rate contribution.

City College of New York LOUIS L. SNYDER

CHARISMA AND FACTIONALISM IN THE NAZI PARTY. By *Joseph Nyomarkay*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1967. Pp. 161. $5.00.)

ALTHOUGH Hitler's charismatic powers have long been recognized as vital to his absolute control over the National Socialist party, the precise nature of his charisma and of its political function has never been adequately studied. The history of Nazi factionalism has been equally neglected. Professor Nyomarkay makes a laudable attempt to correct both of these oversights.

Originally not very different from the *Völkisch* groups that dotted the political landscape of the early Weimar Republic and that eventually disappeared in a welter of rivalries and splits, the Nazi party, according to Nyomarkay, was saved from this fate primarily by Hitler's charismatic leadership and his control over the factions in his movement.

In a very thoughtful analysis the author demonstrates how Hitler established his charismatic claim and was thus afforded the unique opportunity to "establish a new order" and to "rule in accordance with his conscience." This alone, however, cannot be regarded as the key to his eventual success. Shrewdly anticipating the threat of potential rivals, Hitler pitted the Nazi leaders against one another by granting them conflicting and overlapping areas of jurisdiction, thereby concentrating power in his own hands. Of even greater importance was the fact that Hitler consistently refused to allow himself to be tied to a specific ideology that would limit his attraction and provide grounds for factional disputes. Instead he insisted on formulating a much more ambiguous and ephemeral *Weltanschauung* that he alone could interpret.

By these means Hitler permanently acquired the primary loyalty of the Nazi masses. Never able to oppose the *Führer* for fear of losing their supporters, the Nazi factions became totally dependent upon his tolerance. They could at best seek to capture him for their cause and to obtain his support, but they could never become a serious threat.

Less valuable than these informative and persuasive chapters is Nyomarkay's history of the factions, which despite his access to new documentary material fails to treat the National Bolsheviks in more than summary fashion, has nothing new to say about the SA, and neglects the SS completely. The only redeeming

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feature in this section is the treatment of the northern faction led by Gregor and Otto Strasser and the party's reorganization struggles of 1925. Praiseworthy for elucidating the uses of Hitler's charisma, this book is far from definitive in regard to Nazi factionalism.

Rutgers University DANIEL HORN

HITLER'S LAST GAMBLE: THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE. By *Jacques Nobécourt.* Translated from the French by *R. H. Barry.* (New York: Schocken Books. 1967. Pp. 302. $8.95.)

M. NOBÉCOURT, a correspondent for *Le Monde,* asks: "was Europe really on the verge of catastrophe" during the Battle of the Bulge? He replies: the Ardennes offensive was "little more than an incident in the war." What is the reason, then, for his book? To restore perspective to the Allied military reverse, which quickly grew out of proportion because it was so unexpected and created such alarm. Interested in both the battle and its "possible [political] repercussions," Nobécourt characterizes himself as a historian "working in that grey area where military adventure and political gamble overlap, where the operational becomes merged into the strategic, and where the wishes of the personalities . . . were necessarily subordinated to . . . events."

His achievement is splendid. He has ordered, synthesized, and explained a highly complex military operation. He has corrected a widespread impression that Bastogne alone was the key to the defense; his more balanced view credits the defenders at Elsenborn Ridge and Saint-Vith. He has portrayed, with exceptional sensitivity and accuracy, the principal participants on both sides. He has illuminated, with subtlety and grace, the contrasting strategies and war aims. He has discussed clearly and in good taste the impact (he finds very little) of the battle on the Yalta Conference.

I have three reservations. First, in exploring the roots of Hitler's counteroffensive Nobécourt overlooks a vital point in German army doctrine: that wars are to be won not by attrition but by a decisive blow. Though Hitler tried to change the course of the war from the time of the Normandy invasion, he finally succeeded in December when it was too late. Second, in seeking the reasons why the Allies could not exploit their summer success and end the war in the fall of 1944, Nobécourt blames the political authorities for having failed to authorize immediate movement to Berlin. The real reason for stopping at the Siegfried Line was the tyranny of logistics. Third, in discussing the Strasbourg incident, Nobécourt writes eight pages of informed and highly interesting speculation, drawn from memoir materials. The facts are: Eisenhower ordered withdrawal; the French refused to abandon Strasbourg on the ground of national interest and were thereby guilty of military insubordination; De Gaulle asked for help from Churchill, who flew to France and had lunch with Eisenhower. The question is: since Eisenhower changed his mind and issued a new order around noontime, did he do so because of Churchill's arguments in support of De Gaulle? This is Nobécourt's conclusion. Yet a close inspection of the records reveals that Churchill

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arrived for lunch at 3 p.m., several hours after Eisenhower authorized the French to retain the city.

The last is a small point but a large issue in historical methodology. The author says that the truth "can be discovered, not so much by working out the exact chronological sequence of events . . . as by progressive reconstruction of the atmosphere" of the time. This explanation is, in actuality, nothing more than rationalization for his lack of opportunity to study the official US Army records, which are open to all scholars, but are located in this country and not in France.

Despite this shortcoming, the book is intelligent, articulate, objective, and well translated.

Alexandria, Virginia MARTIN BLUMENSON

BEYOND EAGLE AND SWASTIKA: GERMAN NATIONALISM SINCE 1945. In two volumes. By *Kurt P. Tauber.* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1967. Pp. xxiv, 995; 999–1598. $35.00 the set.)

THIS is an encyclopedic survey of Rightist-extremist movements in West Germany since 1945. The coverage is impressively thorough, and it seems inconceivable that there are any pertinent organizations, publications, or publishing houses that have escaped Dr. Tauber's attention. In discussing the various parties and groups Tauber probes deeply into their historical background, gives us detailed biographical sketches of their leaders, and allows us many a look behind the scenes. Despite the lack of cooperation by many of the subjects of his researches, he has been able to assemble a large amount of unpublished materials.

It would be impossible to do justice to Tauber's findings in a short space, but a few of his major conclusions may be recorded. Postwar Rightist extremism in Germany, according to him, is a streamlined type of nationalism rather than Nazism which has been too thoroughly discredited to attract many followers. This new nationalism fed on resentments against the victorious powers: expulsion from one's homeland, de-Nazification, re-education, and partition. No strong leader or leaders emerged, however, to forge these reactions into a powerful unified movement. The many groups that were formed also proved impotent on the whole vis-à-vis the political quietism of most Germans. Gradually, moreover, most of the causes that fed the nationalist resentments were eliminated, by the *Wirtschaftswunder,* the absorption of refugees and expellees into their new homeland, and the rehabilitation of the Bonn Republic as a sovereign state in response to the needs of the cold war.

Yet while Rightist nationalism has proved so far a failure in Germany, Tauber warns that it cannot be written off permanently as a political force. Nationalist thought, ideals, and ideology are not dead; if they have been ineffective so far, they have been repressed rather than eliminated. Given the right opportunities, the author believes, they may again reassert themselves. He does not seem to feel, however, that the new National Democratic party constitutes as yet such a threat.

Ohio State University ANDREAS DORPALEN

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GRAF LEO THUN IM VORMÄRZ: GRUNDLAGEN DES BÖHMISCHEN KONSERVATIVISMUS IM KAISERTUM ÖSTERREICH. By *Christoph Thienen-Adlerflycht.* [Veröffentlichungen des Österreichischen Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institutes, Number 6.] (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1967. Pp. 227. DM 42.)

COUNT Leo Thun (1811–1888) was undoubtedly one of the most interesting personalities during the transition period from the restoration, throughout the revolutionary era and neoabsolutism to the constitutional period after 1867. His main achievements follow the pre-March period, the setting of this study. Yet the groundwork of Thun's policy as governor of Bohemia during the early phases of the revolution, his successful tenure as Minister of Education and educational reformer from 1849 to 1860, and his subsequent policies as parliamentarian was laid during his early manhood. A study of the formative years of this original thinker and statesman is therefore most welcome.

The author has managed successfully to place Thun in the middle ground between late Josephin reformism, an enlightened conservative centralist bureaucracy, and a Bohemian moderate federalism along historic-traditional lines. All these trends conflict with each other, of course, as much as they supplement each other. Mr. Thienen-Adlerflycht rightly perceives that their interaction in Thun's original mind and policies can be understood fully only by a study of his feudal background, the setting of the early Industrial Revolution, the evolution of the national problem in Bohemia, and Thun's contacts with the ideas of Tocqueville. The remarkable efforts toward self-education and strictly professional judicial and administrative training are rightly emphasized.

Possibly the antecedents of Thun's highly original ideas concerning the national problem might have been explored more fully. Possibly also a somewhat simpler diction would have added further strength to this thorough, well-balanced, and sophisticated study. Yet, as it stands, it serves extremely well a threefold purpose. It gives new insight into the biography of a distinguished statesman whose achievements far outweigh his prejudices. It helps to destroy the stereotyped concept of a lazy and greedy aristocracy, which actually did not play the major role so widely assumed by superficial interpreters of Austrian history. Above all, this work of high distinction offers a portrait of social and cultural history as informative as it is original. It would be too much to say that the moderate conservatism of Thun's activities ran true to type any time in the pre-March, the revolutionary, the neoabsolutist, or the constitutional period. Yet the history of none of these periods can be written without considering the impact of men of Thun's caliber and dedication. This fine study offers a key to the understanding of a truly distinguished personality.

Rutgers University ROBERT A. KANN

JACOB BURCKHARDT: EINE BIOGRAPHIE. Volume IV, DAS HISTORISCHE AMT UND DIE SPÄTEN REISEN. By *Werner Kaegi.* (Basel: Schwabe & Co. Verlag. 1967. Pp. xx, 483. 36 fr. S.)

THIS volume deals with the heyday of Burckhardt's academic life. Kaegi again combines his art of colorful narrative with painstaking research. We see Burck-

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hardt as scholar, educator, and burgher, in the solid and happy routine of his daily work, against the social and cultural background of his home city-state of Basel and the small university with its few hundred students. Free from the "publish or perish" treadmill, he wrote, after the *Civilization of the Renaissance,* only his study on *Italian Renaissance Architecture,* a long-underrated contribution to the foundations of modern art history, published in 1867 as the last fruit of the cooperation with his late friend Kugler. Burckhardt's main concern, however, became his courses. In an academic world not yet impersonalized through oversized dimensions, the human atmosphere of his relations with students, colleagues, and fellow citizens appears as a vital part of his existence. As a counterpart to his teaching, his public lectures on a great variety of subjects were for decades the meeting place of the cultural elite of the city. Kaegi's analysis follows the wide range of Burckhardt's courses at the university, which covered almost every stage of European history. Because he had access to the restricted Burckhardt materials in the Basel archive, the author has been able to consult the inexhaustible wealth of Burckhardt's lecture notes. These notes take the place of the books he did not write on topics of his most intense concern such as the Middle Ages and the Age of Revolution.

As a counterweight to the quasi-ascetic simplicity and seclusion of a provincial professorship Burckhardt undertook numerous trips to the countries of *Alteuropa* (as he called it). Making use of his letters, the *Biography* allows us to accompany him on his travels. The picture as presented by Kaegi reveals not only the professor dutifully visiting galleries, churches, and historic sites in preparation for his academic work, but also the humanist who enjoys himself moving around in a different world, talking with common people, tasting the local wines, occasionally even looking at pretty eyes. Thus many sections of Kaegi's work are not only the biography of a representative individual; they are also a cultural history of the age.

Marquette University FELIX M. WASSERMANN

CARTEGGI DI FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI. Volume XII (16 GENNAIO–5 MARZO 1527). Edited by *Pier Giorgio Ricci.* [Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1967. Pp. 322. L. 5,000.)

THE turning point in the political career of Francesco Guicciardini came in the spring of 1527 with the submission of central Italy to the Spanish-imperial armies of Charles V. As governor of Romagna under Pope Clement VII and papal minister during the early part of 1526, Guicciardini was largely responsible for the decision to resist the Emperor. Sent north as lieutenant of the papal army that formed a major contingent of the allied forces of the League of Cognac, Guicciardini tried desperately to spur the league into action while the imperial army was still vulnerable. But his efforts were nullified by the Pope's chronic indecision and the Duke of Urbino's inertia.

This twelfth published volume of Guicciardini's correspondence covers the brief but crucial interval from January 16 to March 5, 1527. Most of the 220 letters of the period were written to four men: Giammatteo Giberti, bishop of

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Verona, who, as datary and principal adviser to the Pope, was the official line of communication between Guicciardini and his employer; Silvio Passerini, cardinal of Cortona and papal legate to Florence where he represented the Pope's Medici interests; Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo, Clement's cousin and papal legate to Bologna, who was sent to Florence late in 1526 to assist Passerini; and Count Guido Rangoni, commander of the league armies at Piacenza and Modena. From Parma Guicciardini wrote daily letters to these four men advising them of the progress or delays in the imperial advance and pleading for support. Many of the *carteggi* are repetitious, but their frequent and interesting variations justify their complete publication. Although his dispatches to Bishop Giberti contain the most information on events leading to the sack of Rome, some of the other letters are more personally revealing.

Pier Giorgio Ricci continues the fine editing of these papers, begun by Roberto Palmarocchi in 1938, and facilitates their use by frequent clarifications of the text, although no introduction nor major editorial comments are undertaken. The usefulness of this collection is evident, but it is unfortunate that the sponsors have chosen not to publish a critical edition. There are many Italian scholars capable of the task, including Ricci, and the value of the collection would have been appropriately enhanced.

Brigham Young University De Lamar Jensen

PETER MARTYR IN ITALY: AN ANATOMY OF APOSTASY. By *Philip McNair*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 325. $8.80.)

In 1542 Peter Martyr Vermigli, prior of the Monastery of San Frediano of the Lateran Congregation in Lucca, renounced the Roman obedience and hurried across the Alps into the welcoming arms of the Zurich Protestants. From Zurich he made his way by stages to England, where he arrived in 1547, just in time to play a substantial role in the Edwardian reform as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and canon of Christ Church. In 1553 he was one of Mary's exiles, returning to the Continent to occupy a chair in divinity at Strasbourg and then at Zurich, where he died in 1562. Peter Martyr after 1542 is fairly well known to Reformation history, especially in his English period; Peter Martyr before 1542 is almost a stranger, his career in Italy leading up to his defection wrapped in obscurity. And yet he was an important figure in the Catholic reform movement that has come to be known as evangelism, and his apostasy was one of the series of disasters, along with the failure of the colloquy of Ratisbon, the death of Gasparo Contarini, and the defection of Bernardo Ochino, which shattered Italian liberal Catholicism and left the field to Gian Pietro Carafa, the Roman Inquisition, and the Council of Trent.

In this book Philip McNair illuminates the Catholic period of Peter Martyr's life, which coincides with the rise and decline of Italian evangelism. Despite thorough research, which has turned up considerable new material, he has had to piece out his "anatomy of apostasy" with conjecture and circumstantial evidence at numerous critical points, for Peter Martyr was reticent about his earlier life and thought in Catholicism. Thus, for example, on the critical questions of when and where and how Peter Martyr changed from a conservative

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reformer on the order of Ximénez into a Biblical reformer on the order of Zwingli, McNair makes out a good case for the three years he spent in Naples in the circle of Juan de Valdés and, conversely, dismantles the case for an earlier conversion at the University of Padua, but he never obscures the paucity of the evidence on which he bases his argument.

One of the best features of the book is due to the author's good historical sense. Through brief, apt sketches of men, places, and ideas he grasps the milieu of pre-Tridentine Italian Catholicism and sets Peter Martyr in his environment; at the same time, through him he mirrors the spirituality of the time. Some will take sharp issue with a number of his contentions, for instance, that evangelism was not an indigenous Catholic reforming movement but a crypto-Lutheran one, and that the chief influence upon Juan de Valdés, apart from the Bible, was Calvin, but no one will be able to dismiss these contentions without first coming to terms with McNair's arguments.

This is a good book, interestingly and even gracefully written, skillful and honest in the use of evidence, with a fine appreciation of the human passions and the dramatic qualities in this story of a man whose crisis of conscience drove him "to forsake the sweete nest of his natiue countrie & earthlie pleasures."

Rutgers University DONALD WEINSTEIN

MISCELLANEA WALTER MATURI. [Università di Torino, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia. Storia, Volume I. Istituto di Storia Moderna e del Risorgimento.] (Turin: G. Giappichelli. 1966. Pp. 526. L. 6,000.)

WARMLY dedicated to the memory of Walter Maturi five years after his death, this book is composed of twelve studies by his former students and colleagues at the University of Turin. It follows, thus, the celebrated volume of the *maéstro's* lectures on the *Risorgimento* that his students prepared in 1962. At the start, there is a brief passage from Maturi's projected study of De Maistre; at the end, a complete bibliography of his works.

While there is no common theme underlying these studies, half of them center on the eighteenth century. Of interest among these are Ada Ruata's on the Count of Canale, Charles Emmanuel III's ambassador to the court of Maria Theresa, and Franco Venturi's on the decade of the 1730's. In the former, Ruata paints the portrait of a typical figure of the old, reactionary Piedmontese aristocracy, closed to all the ideas of the Enlightenment; in the latter, Venturi depicts the decade of the 1730's as both the time when Italy reached the nadir of its political, economic, and cultural decline and began its slow recovery and ascent. Especially acute is Venturi's analysis of the first attempts at reform under Charles III in the kingdom of Naples, particularly of the reasons for the failure of the Neapolitan reformers to make any breach in the privileges of the barons.

Of the remaining studies, mention must be made of Dora Marucco's, on the youthful formation of Antonio Labriola in the radical and socialist currents of late nineteenth-century Naples, and particularly of Adriana Lay's, on an intriguing bishop of the Counter Reformation, of Milanese patrician origins, one Francesco Panigarola, who, sent to Paris to preach against the heretic

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Henry of Navarre, soon realized the French wanted peace above all and wound up an admirer of the Politiques and Henri IV! But of most interest to students of modern European history will probably be Aldo Garosci's closing essay, "Sul Conceto di 'Borghesia.'" Tackling anew the "problem of the bourgeoisie," Garosci begins with some early objections of Croce to the use of the term "bourgeois" as one too ambiguous by which to denote epochs or historical movements, and then seeks to show how recent non-Italian studies on the problem, principally E. Eisenstein's, D. H. Pinkney's, and A. Daumard's, have confirmed Croce's original objections. Interspersed are his own observations. Toward the end, not without interest, he traces the development of the concept of the bourgeoisie as the "instrument of history" in the early nineteenth century, particularly in the works and thought of Thierry and Guizot.

University of California, Santa Barbara DONALD A. LIMOLI

LA FINANZA TOSCANA DAGLI INIZI DEL SECOLO XVIII ALLA CADUTA DEL GRANDUCATO. By *Luigi Dal Pane.* [Studi e richerche di storia economica italiana nell'età del Risorgimento.] (Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana. 1965. Pp. 759.)

LA VENDITA DEI BENI DELLO STATO NEL REGNO DI NAPOLI (1806–1815). By *Pasquale Villani.* [Studi e richerche di storia economica italiana nell'età del Risorgimento.] (Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana. 1964. Pp. 234.)

PROFESSOR Dal Pane is an eminent authority on the economic history of Tuscany. This study is a work of impressive scholarship and presents an exhaustive treatment of the public finance of Tuscany from the end of the Medici dynasty to the beginning of Italian unification. Dal Pane follows the story of public finance from the great reforms of Pietro Leopoldo in the eighteenth century, through the period of French domination, to the last of the Lorraine dynasty under Leopoldo II, at the end of the restoration. The book is based on archival sources, most importantly on the annual budgets, the revenues and expenditures of the grand duchy of Tuscany between 1768 and 1860. Dal Pane has published here, for the first time, the budgets of Pietro Leopoldo. These budgets constitute a landmark in the history of public finance because of their modern character; they gave Tuscany one of the most advanced fiscal systems in all Europe at the end of the eighteenth century.

Enlightened fiscal policy contributed to the economic development of Tuscany between 1760 and 1860. The public revenue of Tuscany increased approximately six times between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century. The periods of most rapid growth in income coincided with periods of economic expansion and inflation, notably during the great fiscal reforms of Pietro Leopoldo and in the decade of the 1850's. Tuscany pursued an expansionary fiscal policy at the end of the eighteenth century that it was unable to continue because of mounting costs of public administration, welfare programs, and increased military spending during the nineteenth century. The fiscal system, Dal Pane points out, was basically regressive despite the liberal reforms of Pietro Leopoldo, Napoleon, and Leopoldo II. Fiscal policy was generally more responsive to the interests of

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the landed aristocracy than to the small farmers and agricultural workers. The highest proportion of government revenue was derived from taxes on consumption and trade; the tax on land provided only a small proportion of total government income.

Dal Pane shows that Tuscany enjoyed a period of budgetary surpluses at the end of the eighteenth century and maintained balanced budgets between 1815 and 1840. Expenditures exceeded revenues in the decade preceding unification. The restoration government concealed its budgetary deficits from the public and financed these deficits through foreign borrowing, higher taxation, and the sale of state property.

This is a valuable study for its material on budgets and fiscal policy. It is regrettable that it does not consider the effect of government taxation and expenditure on long-term changes in the level of income in Tuscany in the century preceding unification. To appreciate the real importance of fiscal policy, we need data on the private sector to estimate the national income, data that do not now exist. Dal Pane promises other studies of the Tuscan economy in the future, and it is to be hoped that he may eventually fill this void.

The system of feudal landholding and the predominance of a feudal aristocracy have been a major factor in the economic backwardness of southern Italy. Agricultural stagnation, inadequate capital formation, and low rates of industrial growth have been a historic legacy of centuries of unequal distribution of the land.

Dr. Villani has studied the problem of property distribution in the south of Italy, specifically the confiscation and sale of Church lands in the kingdom of Naples during the period of French domination between 1806 and 1815. His study begins with an account of the dissolution of the monasteries and the reconstitution of confiscated lands into the national domain and a description of the methods, conditions, and successive phases of land sales. The main part of the work is devoted to a study of over five thousand contracts of land sales, a detailed analysis of land purchases by size of purchase, and a more detailed analysis of sales by social and professional groups in one province, Salerno.

The French confiscated about three-quarters of the lands of the religious establishments. These confiscations were undertaken for economic and political reasons rather than for ideological considerations, primarily to raise revenues to liquidate the public debt and to support the rising costs of administration and war. Villani concludes that despite the confiscations there was no agrarian revolution in the kingdom of Naples because of the primitive condition of agriculture and the existence of a powerful feudal aristocracy. The Napoleonic regime, by favoring the landed aristocracy at the expense of the lower middle class and peasants, reinforced the existing predominance of feudal property and failed to introduce important elements of modernization into a backward, traditional economy. Villani has made an important contribution to the history of property in southern Italy worthy of the tradition of Georges Lefebvre.

We must be grateful to the *Banca Commerciale* for its initiative in the planning and publication of these volumes which form a part of a larger series on the economic history of modern Italy.

Boston College IRA A. GLAZIER

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IL GOVERNO DEI C. L. N.: ATTI DEL CONVEGNO DEI COMITATI DI LIBERAZIONE NAZIONALE, TORINO, 9–10 OTTOBRE 1965. By *Guido Quazza et al.* Preface by *Giuseppe Grosso.* Introduction by *Franco Antonicelli.* [Istituto Storico della Resistenza in Piemonte, Studi e documenti, Number 3.] (Turin: G. Giappichelli Editore. 1966. Pp. xvi, 255. L. 2,500.)

DURING the period of the resistance the Committees of National Liberation (CLN) were the only outlet for the expression of the national will in Italy. For many Italians they were the government in those years. This is the justification for this book, which precisely because of the importance of the CLN succeeds in touching on most of the major problems of Italian politics from 1943 to 1956.

The work contains the papers, comments, and debates of the convention commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the CLN and an appendix listing all the delegates with their original party affiliation and the geographical location of the committees on which they served. The three papers dealing with the historical, political, and juridical problems of the CLN show that the committees were not merely anti-German and patriotic, but were driven by a common aim to rid the country of Fascism and establish a democratic society of a "participatory" character. They also make it clear that the resistance movement would never have achieved its important military and political successes without the leadership and coordination of the CLN.

In this, as in other books on this period, Palmiro Togliatti's "svolta di Salerno" of March 1944 continues to serve as a basis for polemics. His declaration that the Communists were disposed to enter a government led by Badoglio to postpone consideration of the fate of the monarchy has been consistently criticized by most liberals, *azionisti,* and socialists as a blow to the development of democracy and republicanism. Here too Leo Valianti remains firmly committed to this view and even insists that Togliatti "had decided it in Moscow with Stalin." Professor Quazza, however, while asserting reservations about Togliatti's method and timing, declares that the Communist leader's move was "the most eloquent recognition that unity against Nazi-fascism could be achieved only on the positions of the moderates." In the discussions following the lectures, the Communist leaders Amendola, Pajetti, and Sereni offer some spirited arguments in defense of the action of their late, lamented chief.

All in all, this book is a fine reconstruction of the origins, role, and demise of the CLN. It is also an inspiring testimonial to an important episode in the recent history of the struggle for freedom and democracy.

John Jay College of Criminal Justice JOHN M. CAMMETT

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΒΛΑΧΩΜ ΤΩΝ 'ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΧΩΡΩΝ. Β', 'ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ 'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΥ ΤΣΟΒΛΑΧΩΝ 'ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥΡΚΟΚΡΑΤΙΑΣ [The Vlachs of Greek Areas. Volume II, Life and History of the Kutsovlachs under Turkish Rule]. By *Telemachos M. Katsougiannes.* [Society for Macedonian Studies. Publications of the National Library, Number 23.] (Thessalonike: the Society. 1966. Pp. 118.)

VARIOUS theories have been expressed on the primitive homeland of the Balkan

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Vlachs, but these have often been vitiated by politics. Rumanian scholars have held that the Vlachs were dispersed into the Balkans from Dacia or Moesia. T. M. Katsougiannes, on the other hand, has attempted to show in the previous volume (1964) of his work that the Vlachs of Greece, the so-called Kutsovlachs, are autochthonous, ethnically belonging to the Greeks, although linguistically Latinized. On the basis of this opinion, he seeks to show in the present volume the contribution of the Kutsovlachs to modern Hellenism.

First, the author deals with the passage of the Kutsovlachs, during the Ottoman rule, from a nomadic pastoral state to the settled life in towns and cities, where they formed a middle class. This is an important topic, but the treatment it has received is sketchy. Several towns are mentioned either founded by or constituted for the most part of Kutsovlachs. Prominence has been given, and rightly so, to Moschopolis, which before its destruction in 1771 had been a center of commerce and Greek culture for the southern Balkans. The Kutsovlachs distinguished themselves primarily as businessmen, in Greek lands, in Balkan countries, and in Austria-Hungary.

Katsougiannes treats next the struggles of the Kutsovlachs in favor of Hellenism during the period of the Macedonian question. It was then that the Rumanian government created the Kutsovlach political question, which affected not only the Kutsovlachs but also the patriarchate of Constantinople and the Greek government. After discussing the various vicissitudes brought about by the Rumanian move, the author regrets Venizelos' Bucharest note of 1913, whereby the government at Athens recognized the autonomous status of the pro-Rumanian Vlach minority in the Greek lands.

Whereas the first volume of this work was published by Katsougiannes himself, the second is posthumous and in part has been edited by two Greek scholars. Since he was not a scholar, but a cultured man, the author used his knowledge and personal experience more than historical sources. He presents the viewpoint of a Hellenized Vlach, trying to demonstrate the active contribution of his fellow Kutsovlachs to the Greek society and its national struggles. In doing so, he neglects or degrades the pro-Rumanian faction of the Kutsovlachs whom he regards as mercenaries at the service of Bucharest.

Though a few details Katsougiannes had witnessed or heard, especially when he lived in Bitola, are interesting, his work as a whole is of little value. A sounder historical treatment about the Kutsovlach question is to be found in various chapters of *The Macedonian Question as a Phase of the Near Eastern Question, 1878–1908* (1935), written in Greek by N. Vlachos or in Volume IV of the well-documented diplomatic history of Greece by Driault and Lhéritier. The recent work, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia, 1897–1913* (1966), by D. Dakin, also contains something on that question. This situation in Balkan historiography points to the need of a scholarly study of the Kutsovlach question, 1860–1913, in English.

Columbia University STAVRO SKENDI

REVOLUCIJA U LICI, 1941–1945 [Revolution in Lika, 1941–1945]. By *Mane Pešut.* ([Bielefeld, Germany: the Author.] 1966. Pp. 398. $3.50.)

THE controversy over who was on the side of the angels in wartime Yugoslavia

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—the Partisans of Marshal Tito or the Chetniks of General Mihailovich—continues unabated. Supporters of the Partisans have the advantage of access to substantial collections of documents and facilities for publication; a good many of them are trained historians. Supporters of the Chetniks, on the other hand, have little more than memories to draw on, and few of them are scholars. The Serbian refugees, moreover, are politically divided, emotionally involved, and not all support the Chetnik cause. No wonder that the best short statements on the Chetniks are the wartime report by the Allied Force HQS in Italy and the article that appears in Volume II of the *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije,* written by a Yugoslav Communist.

Yet the writings of the Chetnik emigrants, the published documentary series of Communist Yugoslavia, and the official documents of Germany, Italy, Great Britain, and the United States at long last make it possible to do a good study of the Chetniks. The question is no longer asked whether Mihailovich collaborated, but rather when he started on the course of collaboration and why. A professional historian, free from Yugoslav ethnic and political commitments, could certainly produce a scholarly account of the Chetniks and give an objective assessment of their political program, their activities, and their failure.

Mane Pešut is not such an unbiased writer. A Chetnik refugee, Pešut gives his recollections on what he calls the Serbian uprising and revolution in Lika, Kordun, and Banija during 1941–1945. He describes the struggle of the Chetniks with the Ustashe and the Partisans, their withdrawal from Yugoslavia in 1945, and the fate of the units they left behind. The author is critical of the Allies, Churchill, and Roosevelt and claims that through their "inexcusable errors" the Communists "came to power" in Yugoslavia, and he reproaches Chetnik leaders (such as Slavko Bjelajac and Radmilo Grdjićh) for being silent on the wartime situation in Yugoslavia. Although Pešut is by no means an objective reporter, like other refugees he has given us a few details that fill the existing gap in the historiography on the Chetnik-Partisan fratricide. His is one of numerous memoirs published by refugee Chetniks. The book includes a useful index of persons, a list of Serbian clerics who perished in the war, and the names of the Chetnik battalions and their commanders who operated in wartime Lika.

Stanford University WAYNE S. VUCINICH

ISLAM IN THE SOVIET UNION. By *Alexandre Bennigsen* and *Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay*. With an introduction by *Geoffrey E. Wheeler*. [Published in association with the Central Asian Research Centre, London.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xiii, 272. $7.00.)

RUSSIA's largest non-Slavic group of nationalities, its mostly Turkic-speaking Muslim peoples (Tatars, Uzbeks, Kazaks, and so forth) have several demographic features in common with the American Negroes: both amount to roughly a tenth of the total populations; their main habitats are located to the southeast; and neither of them merges easily with the majority group of European origin in each respective nation. In contrast to this country's Negroes,

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however, Russia's Muslim peoples have preserved their native languages and distinct national identity.

Their evolution, especially in the Soviet era, has been vividly narrated in the present book, introduced and excellently translated from the original French by Geoffrey Wheeler, the eminent British Islamist and Sovietologist and author of many works on Central Asia. The initial section of the volume deals with the incorporation of the Turkic peoples into the Russian Empire during the Russian advance into the vast territories between the Volga and Pamir Mountains, a process that lasted some four centuries and was completed almost a hundred years ago. The political awakening of these Muslims around the turn of the century is discussed in the second section, the story of their Sovietization is offered in the third, while the final, fourth, and most original part analyzes the present situation of Islam in the USSR. Leaning heavily on Wheeler's views, the authors come to the conclusion that Russian Muslims, despite the insistent pressure of Soviet propaganda, education, and administration, have nonetheless been able not only to preserve their own Turkic tongues but also to maintain many important features of the Islamic cultural and social heritage.

The authors are competently informed and well acquainted with the vast American, British, French, and Russian research in their field, as well as with original sources, and have written a balanced work in which they provide much interesting information and many insights. It is regrettable that this volume is too often marred by the authors' uncritical, often naïve, enthusiasm for the achievements of the Russian Muslims, while they repeatedly disregard the centuries-long Russian settlement of these areas, where Russians and other Europeans now often form a substantial majority of the population. Any comprehensive population statistics of these territories are omitted, and in the ethnographic and linguistic maps European, mostly Russian, presence is forgotten. The data given on education in Central Asia and the other Soviet "Muslim" republics also do not always reflect the exact picture. I hope that in the next printing of this easily readable book these regrettable inadequacies and omissions will be eliminated.

Vanderbilt University SERGE A. ZENKOVSKY

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE 1801–1917. By *Hugh Seton-Watson*. [Oxford History of Modern Europe.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 813. $10.00.)

PROFESSOR Seton-Watson's latest book, which may be considered to supersede his *The Decline of Imperial Russia, 1855–1914* (1952), has many merits. It is based on a wealth of material including sources and monographs, Russian and foreign. It is clear; the author has a spare, straightforward style; he is willing to write simple and apparently obvious statements without apology, but he provides qualifications whenever needed. Its foremost virtue is objectivity; he tries to give everyone the credit he deserves and has not excluded from humanity any person or group, no matter how reactionary or revolutionary. One of the chief assets he has brought to this book is his ability to draw

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helpful comparisons with other areas, Japan, Greece, and Ireland, for example. He is especially careful about telling the story of the non-Russian borderlands, from Finland and the Baltic areas to the usually neglected Caucasus and Central Asia. He is at pains to provide at least minimal biographical information on almost everyone of importance he mentions. Some will wish he had been less generous with the detail of military campaigns, but not I.

Errors (except for a few typographical ones) are at a minimum. It is not exactly true to say that "until 1918 Russia used a different calendar from the rest of Europe," since the Julian calendar was in use in both Russia and England from 1700 to 1752; Filaret was forced to become a monk before being chosen bishop; the phrase "Sha-Ho river" is redundant because "ho" means river; though the author is defensibly vague about what transliteration system he is using, "Ilyminsky" is surely incorrect.

He notes that "the history of the Church and of religious ideas remains virtually untouched"; if more work on the subject had been published he might have refrained from speaking of the mid-nineteenth century as a time "when bishops and monks were virtually indifferent to thought" and asserting that the Russian schism originated not in "the troubled consciences of priests and laymen" like the Reformation but in "a decision of the patriarch," both of which statements may be quite misleading. What is more important, one might hope that the categories of "underdeveloped" societies and "deliberate modernization" around which he organizes his over-all interpretation of modern Russian history might have been qualified and supplemented by recognition of what the Empire did to Russian culture, high and low. Aside from culture, he has not told us clearly what he thinks happened to Russian society during the period; he does not relate his actual narrative to the notion of "deliberate modernization" sufficiently so that one is sure what he wants the reader to make of his 742 pages of text. At any rate the balanced, detailed, and critical narrative on which any sound interpretation must rest is here, and for it Russian historians will long be in Seton-Watson's debt.

University of Washington DONALD W. TREADGOLD

RUSSISCHER INTELLEKT IN EUROPÄISCHER KRISE: IVAN V. KIREEVSKIJ (1806–1856). By *Eberhard Müller.* [Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas, Number 5.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1966. Pp. xii, 512. DM 56.)

RECENT literature on the Slavophiles has tended to emphasize their differences, their lack of a common all-embracing ideology, their sincere libertarianism (as opposed to the proponents of official nationality), and the depth and nature of their religious commitment, while at the same time keeping in view their sense of a shared purpose. Among the Slavophiles, Ivan Kireevsky has usually been regarded as the most "rational" and philosophical and, in his respect for European culture and his concern to overcome Russian backwardness, the closest to their Westernizer opponents.

To this tendency, Professor Müller has made a distinguished contribution. He has organized and highlighted much evidence of differences among the

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Slavophiles and of the numerous bonds tying them to the Westernizers. And he has demonstrated most convincingly the extent to which Kireevsky served as a bridge between the two camps.

Unlike previous writers, however, Müller emphasizes the coherence, the continuity, the consistency in Kireevsky's thinking. He relates him not merely to Herzen and Granovsky but to the entire intellectual life of Europe in the two decades before 1848. His book is a genuine contribution to European as well as to Russian intellectual history.

On the one hand, he points out the important differences between Kireevsky's early writings and those of Chaadaev, with which they have often been compared. On the other, he shows that Kireevsky's later writings (after 1838) by no means broke with the postulates of the earlier—with their Pan-Europeanism, the importance they assigned to education and social reform, their aversion to any exclusive or ethnic nationalism—but merely developed the notion that in the general European moral crisis, Russia, having become ineluctably a part of Europe, contained the physical-spiritual wherewithal to provide a new bloom to the old organism that might without its latest "member" merely wither and die.

The book displays a mastery of sources, both Russian and European, and an impressive knowledge of the secondary literature. It takes the trouble to unscramble much previous confusion with regard to Kireevsky's reading of Schelling and Hegel and provides us with evidence of his intimate intellectual relationship to Carlyle, Disraeli, Guizot, Thierry, Menzel, Saint-Simon, Baader, his kinship with Herzen, and his enormous debt to Pascal. It is an old-fashioned effort at intellectual history, with only a minimal interest in psychology, but it is an effort well made and indispensable.

University of Rochester SIDNEY MONAS

RUSSIA AND THE GREEK REVOLUTION OF 1843. By *Barbara Jelavich*. [Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, Number 65.] (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1966. Pp. 124.)

THE Greek Revolution of 1843 has not been the subject of serious study by either Greek or Western historians. The internal factors underlying the military *coup d'état* of September 3, 1843, as well as the motivations and machinations of the external forces involved in Kallerghis' *coup* remain obscure.

In the light of traditional Russian diplomacy concerning the Eastern Question, Barbara Jelavich has attempted to clarify the part played by Russia in the events of 1843 and the specific political interests and actions of Nicholas I chiefly on the basis of documents contained in the Bavarian State Archives in Munich and in the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. This limited objective has been accomplished successfully. Jelavich provides a workmanlike summary of Russian policies toward Greece antedating the revolt of 1843 and a detailed description of Russia's participation in the crisis of that year. The evident contradictions between Nicholas' dedication to the principles of legitimacy and his condonement of alteration of the *status quo* by revolutionary action

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are discussed with insight. To the Tsar, King Othon's promulgation of the Erastian Decree was apparently a crime severe enough to be punished by a conservative revolution and substitution of a constitutional monarchy for an absolute regime.

The documents used by Jelavich in her investigation of Russian policy toward Greece are insufficient for analysis in depth. The dispatches of Otto von Bray, the Bavarian representative in St. Petersburg, and of Anton von Prokesch-Osten, the Austrian minister in Athens—on which this study is largely based—and those contained in the appendixes of the present volume are informative but neither profound nor exhaustive. It would have been useful to consult comparable sources housed in French, British, and, of course, Russian archives. It is hoped that Jelavich will pursue her studies in nineteenth-century Russian-Greek relations in greater detail in order to elucidate more fully Russia's involvement in Greek affairs in 1843.

University of Colorado STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

NICHOLAS AND ALEXANDRA. By *Robert K. Massie.* (New York: Atheneum. 1967. Pp. xvii, 584. $10.00.)

THE author of this volume, trained in both academic history and journalism, has written a family-centered account of the last Emperor of Russia and his wife that deserves its commercial success. Even professional historians will be carried away by its skillful combination of human compassion, source-based historical method (no need to quibble about the absence of footnotes), and narrative power. Such an extensive and tidy historical panorama of the Russian court under the last Tsar certainly would never have been penned by one of them with their penchant for abstract analysis. The only protest that they have a right to advance stems from the fact that Mr. Massie also ventures into historical interpretation by touching upon the larger, impersonal crises enveloping the court and the country. In this respect he is quite unimaginative, never looking beyond the explanations proffered long ago by Bernard Pares. The tensions surrounding Stolypin, the unwillingness of Nicholas II to make the constitution of 1905 work, and his growing eagerness for a restoration are overlooked in favor of the pageantry of the Romanov tercentenary or the dazzle of a Fabergé Easter egg. It is unfortunate that the many readers of this book will carry away so limited or even distorted a comprehension of the great Russian tragedy of those years.

In one respect, however, the author has done even the professionals a service. As he states at the outset, he took up the story of Nicholas and Alexandra because of a hemophiliac son in his own family. Both as a parent and an educated layman he has introduced into his narrative the most recent medical information. At the heart of this book lies a sympathetic, sensitive, and always rational reconstruction of a family tragedy caused by a suffering child. His most moving chapter deals with the severest of the several crises in the life of the young Michael, at Spala in 1912. In this context even the role of Rasputin becomes intelligible. Massie cites recent medical experience to the effect that hypnosis and emotional soothing can reduce the flow of blood and

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promote clotting. That Rasputin possessed such power to an unusual degree has been well testified and does not go beyond the range of common sense. There is no question, furthermore, that having once had this effect, this power could even be invoked *in absentia,* by a telegram sent from Siberia, as in 1912.

Clio's house has many mansions, and one of them is set aside, quite legitimately, as a home where the great actors become human to off-stage folk who like to read history. This is their book.

Washington University THEODORE H. VON LAUE

PUT' K SOTSIALIZMU V ROSSII: IZBRANNYE PROIZVEDENIIA [The Path to Socialism in Russia: Selected Works]. By *N. I. Bukharin.* Edited with an introduction by *Sidney Heitman.* Russian translation of introduction and notes by *Eugenia Zhiglevich.* (New York: Omicron Books; distrib. by Rausen Publishers, New York. 1967. Pp. 415.)

PROFESSOR Heitman has performed a valuable service for specialists in the Soviet field by presenting in the original Russian selections from the writings and speeches of Nikolai Bukharin, former Politburo member and leading theoretician of the Communist movement who was among those old Bolsheviks executed in the 1930's. Recently Western scholars, such as Heitman himself, have been publishing studies of Bukharin's views and his historical role, but most examinations of the early period of Soviet history have given only a few generalities about this important spokesman and economic organizer during the NEP period. Soviet scholars, not surprisingly, have neglected Bukharin, and it has been difficult to obtain the exact texts of his statements.

The essays and speeches here show Bukharin's agility in defending the position of the party during war Communism and the NEP. He is particularly aware of the problems faced by Soviet leadership in establishing socialism in a backward country. But he combines an insight into peasant psychology with a typical Bolshevik ability to twist both facts and Marxist dialectic to justify rigid party dictatorship. There is much that is sophistical; the peasants must, for example, fall under the influence either of the bourgeoisie or of the proletariat, and the proletariat is identified, of course, with the party. His arguments fortunately lack the insulting tone of Lenin's or the crudeness of Stalin's, but the reasoning is often as specious. Heitman is right in his able introduction to stress the significance of Bukharin as a Bolshevik thinker, but there is little evidence he had remarkable intellectual gifts. Besides a general introduction, Heitman has written in English a short introduction to each of the selections. These introductions are beautifully translated into Russian.

University of Windsor FRANKLIN A. WALKER

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VNESHNIAIA POLITIKA VREMENNOGO PRAVITEL'STVA [The Foreign Policy of the Provisional Government]. By *V. S. Vasiukov*. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1966. Pp. 494.)

POVOROT V POLITIKE KOMINTERNA (K 30-LETIIU VII KONGRESSA) [The Reversal in Comintern Policy (On the 30th Anniversary of the Seventh Congress)]. By *B. M. Leibzon* and *K. K. Shirinia*. [Akademiia Obshchestvennykh Nauk pri TsK KPSS.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1965. Pp. 373.)

EASIER access to state archives and renewed Soviet interest in the non-Bolshevik aspects of the Russian Revolution combine to provide the stimulating thesis that the imperial and democratic governments were strongly committed to maintaining Russia as a full-fledged member of the European Great Power system. While noting, though surely underestimating, the nuances separating Nicholas II, Miliukov, and Kerensky-Tereshchenko, Vasiukov reveals their common fear that, in contrast to the British, German economic and military imperialism threatened to undermine Russia's political independence. The provisional government's efforts to secure this independence through a moderate peace policy were doomed by the fierce tug of war between the *Entente* and the revolutionary forces over war aims. Heavily dependent upon Allied supplies and credits, but not to the extent of becoming a "semicolony," the author argues in line with current Soviet historical thinking, the provisional government gave ground to the British, French, and Japanese in the Middle and Far East, but clung to some sort of guarantee of access to the Mediterranean. Thus the author uncovers the roots of intervention in 1917 and points up the contradictions in Allied policy toward Russia. To those not put off by Vasiukov's lack of discrimination in evaluating sources, his tendency to attribute the motivation of all non-Bolsheviks to cynicism and money, and the normal quota of Marxist clichés, the book offers new material and insights into the dilemma of the provisional government and the persistence of foreign policy problems which, it might be added, extended into the Soviet period.

The post-Khrushchev revisionist history of the origins of the popular front also relies on some new material and seeks to serve as a guide to contemporary political action. According to Leibzon and Shirinia, the credit for the Comintern's shift belongs to the spontaneous mass action led by the Czech and, especially, the French Communist parties in the face of Stalin's indifference and Left sectarianism within the Comintern Executive. The Spanish party followed more quickly than those in "more highly developed European countries" and in the colonial areas like China and India. Revelations of detail show, for example, Kun, Lozovskii, and Varga ranged against Dmitrov, Manuilskii, and Kuusinen on the issue of cooperation with the Social Democrats. Those skeptical of reading too much into Soviet documents would do well to study the heated debates over phraseology in the sessions of the Seventh Congress' preparatory commission. Popular democracy as a new form of transition to the proletarian dictatorship became possible because the earlier fears of the Social Democrats swallowing fledgling Communist parties had disappeared. Stalin's unresolved doubts about the shift showed up in the heavy-handed editing of the Congress'

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stenographic reports. The general thesis that the Comintern and its policies reflected loose organization, local variations, and spontaneity ring false, but it is useful to have a corrective to the image of an unflawed monolith.

University of Pennsylvania ALFRED J. RIEBER

OKTIABR' I GRAZHDANSKAIA VOINA V SSSR [The November Revolution and the Civil War in the USSR]. [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii. Sbornik Statei k 70-letiiu Akademika I. I. Mintsa.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. 525.)

ANTICIPATING the fiftieth anniversary of the November Revolution, the Division of Historical Science of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, acting upon "suggestions" made by party leaders at the All Union Conference of Historians in December 1962, established a council of scholars to research the Revolution under a "Coordinated Plan." In the March 1963 issue of *Voprosy istorii,* the "Plan," encompassing twenty pages of project titles in small print, is outlined by Isaak Israelevich Mints, dean of Soviet revolutionary historiography and the council's chairman. Teams of scholars fanning out over the USSR would study archival and other sources to fill the lacunae left in the Revolution's history by researchers, foreign and domestic. Their monographs and articles would treat the leading role of the proletariat and of the party in the Revolution, the significance of the Soviets, the peasant movement in 1917, the history of the struggle with petty bourgeois parties, among other subjects, repairing the damage done by bourgeois falsifiers and correcting the bourgeois objectivist interpretations.

The thirty-five articles that make up this *Festschrift,* honoring septuagenarian I. I. Mints, grew out of the "Plan." The writing is toneless and tendentious, archival and other materials being selected to achieve desired conclusions. Articles by A. P. Gritsenko, E. V. Illeritskaia, E. V. Ostrovskii, however, reflect the recently heightened historical sensitivity, yielding, if not truth, at least a much-improved quality of life and realism. The nature of Bolshevism, in particular, is revealed as only a native Bolshevik could do it. The marvelously continuing vitality of Lenin's militaristic principles in a society growing daily less Spartan seems explainable solely by the cold war, registered here in a number of Ententeophobic articles. If the cold war did not exist the party would surely have to invent it.

Hundreds of references to Lenin and dozens to Mints attest to the hardiness of personality cultism and to the ubiquity of Stalin's ghost, evident most ironically in that he is mentioned but once by name and then not in connection with the three articles on Transcaucasia or the one on the First Five-Year Plan. Trotsky is not mentioned at all despite two articles on the early years of the Red Army.

The anniversary celebration of the Revolution was prepared as a hymn to the success of Lenin's iron-disciplined centralistic party. Bolshevik historians were expected to do their duty, emphasizing the positive in the Soviet past and ignoring cumbersome facts and persons. Praise to centralism and, therefore,

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the deliberate misuse of materials constitute the theme and technique of these essays.

City College of New York STANLEY W. PAGE

KORNILOVSHCHINA I EE RAZGROM: IZ ISTORII BOR'BY S KONTR-REVOLIUTSIEI V 1917 G. [The Kornilov Affair and Its Liquidation: The History of the Struggle by the Counterrevolutionaries in 1917]. By *N. Ia. Ivanov.* [Leningradskii Ordena Lenina Gosudarstvennyi Universitet Imeni A. A. Zhdanova.] ([Leningrad:] Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo Universiteta. 1965. Pp. 238.)

GENERAL Kornilov's march on Petrograd in August 1917 marked a critical turning point in the Russian Revolution. Although it collapsed without a single shot being fired, the mutiny sealed the doom of the provisional government. Popular confidence in Kerenski, who was widely suspected of complicity in the affair, was fatally undermined, while the workers of the capital had been armed and were consolidated behind the leadership of the extreme Left. Kornilov's abortive *coup* thus set the stage for the Bolshevik seizure of power two months later.

An immense literature has accumulated on the subject, yet fifty years later the Kornilov affair remains beclouded by the contradictory testimony of its eyewitnesses and participants. Did Kornilov betray Kerenski, or was it the other way around? What, beyond the restoration of military and civil order, were the general's political objectives? How much support did he receive from the Allies? To what extent was V. N. Lvov—the self-appointed liaison between the Prime Minister and his commander in chief—personally responsible for precipitating the ill-fated revolt?

Although he has had access to archival materials, N. Ia. Ivanov fails to provide any satisfactory answers to these and a host of lesser enigmas that still enshroud the Kornilov affair. His intensely polemical book, indeed, only adds to the confusion by its unceasing vilification of the conspirators and their supporters. The latter, by Ivanov's reckoning, ranged from monarchists and Black Hundreds on the Right to Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries on the Left, aided and abetted by "the ruling circles of international imperialism." Working hand in glove with Kornilov, says the author, was a small army of Allied agents whose ranks included the venerable Populist leaders Chaikovski and Breshko-Breshkovskaya. Without citing any evidence Ivanov labels the American ambassador, David Francis, "one of the most active participants in the preparation of Kornilov's movement."

Against these formidable opponents, says Ivanov, the Bolsheviks alone rallied to the Revolution's defense, while the Mensheviks and SR's showed their true colors as "petty bourgeois reformists" by using the Committee for Defense against Counterrevolution to protect the "traitor" Kerenski. The fact that Lenin's party enjoyed equal representation on the committee is passed over in silence. Nor are we told that SR's, Mensheviks, and anarchists served alongside the Bolsheviks in the armed detachments organized to stop Kornilov. The truth was that Kornilov's threat, in the words of John Reed, "drew together

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all the Socialist groups—'moderates' as well as revolutionists—in a passionate impulse of self-defense."

Columbia University PAUL AVRICH

VTORAIA MIROVAIA VOINA [World War II]. Volume I, OBSHCHIE PROBLEMY [General Problems]; Volume II, VOENNOE ISKUSSTVO [Military Leadership]; Volume III, DVIZHENIE SOPROTIVLENIIA V EVROPE [Resistance Movements in Europe]. Edited by *A. M. Samsonov et al.* [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPSS, Ministerstvo Oborony SSSR. Glavnoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie Sovetskoi Armii i Voenno-Morskogo Flota. Materialy Nauchnoi Konferentsii, Posviashchennoi 20–1 Godovshchine Pobedy nad Fashistskoi Germaniei.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. 438; 402; 338.)

THESE three volumes consist of reports presented in April 1965 at a conference convened in Moscow by the Institute of Science of the USSR and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the end of World War II. The conference was divided into three sections, the topic treated in each section becoming then the title of each of the three volumes.

The general nature of the reports published, aside from the political orientation, was not in the direction of what we call historical research. An idea of the general tenor of the volumes as a whole can be derived by noting that among the seven "knotty problems" listed as "standing in the center of attention of the conference" are the "decisive role of the Soviet Union in the smashing of Fascist Germany" and "the role of the Communist party and other democratic parties in the organization of the struggle with Fascism."

Volume I, therefore, beginning with its treatment of the "decisive role of the Soviet Union in the victory," has as its first of more than forty articles one entitled "The Military Organizational Activity of the Communist Party of the USSR in the Period of the Great Fatherland War." The next article draws a number of interesting statistical comparisons that differ from similar information in some works of German origin. Several of the conclusions also seem to be refuted by other sources. The author states, for example, that the "industry of the USSR until the attack of Fascist Germany had not been converted to military production" and consequently in 1941 "Germany turned out 11,000 first-class planes, more than five thousand tanks and armored vehicles . . . , whereas the Soviet air industry produced only 10,600 planes of which only a few dozen were of the new type." This seems to contradict the testimony of a Soviet pilot, Gallai, who, writing in *Novyi Mir* in September 1966, states that during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, the Germans sold the USSR a number of their latest planes, including ME-109's, 110's, Heinkels, and Junkers. Gallai goes on to say that "we all flew in them" and that although some of their features were good, they were not superior to those planes which the Soviets were using. Again, in his evaluation of tank production and the fact that only 115 of the new T-34's had been produced in 1940, the author gives a different impression than does General Guderian in his memoirs.

The third volume is devoted to the resistance movements; here their origins

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and developments in one region after another are discussed. Documentation, as we know it, is not provided, however.

Moreover, those places where the Western historian might look for more details and elucidation, especially in connection with the tragic Warsaw uprising of 1944 and the abortive rising in Slovakia, are pretty well passed over.

It is difficult to judge a work that contains about a hundred different articles, representing the contributions of an even greater number of authors. This can be left to the individual reader.

University of Iowa NORMAN LUXENBURG

VELIKAIA OTECHESTVENNAIA VOINA SOVETSKOGO SOIUZA, 1941–1945: KRATKAIA ISTORIIA [The Great Fatherland War of the Soviet Union, 1941–1945: A Concise History]. Edited by *P. I. Pospelov et al.* [Institut Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPSS, Otdel Istorii Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voiny.] (Moscow: Voennoe Izdatel'stvo Ministerstva Oborony SSSR. 1965. Pp. 617.)

SINCE this is a one-volume condensation of the original six-volume *Istoriia,* is further a "scientific-popular" version of it, and, in addition, was produced by three teams of party representatives, editors, and writers, one could not reasonably expect an improvement over the original.

There is room for a manual on the experiences of the Soviet Union in the Second World War and on the literature respecting them. It is a disappointment to have instead a condensation that not only dispenses with footnotes, bibliography, and even index, but also preserves the political purpose and to this end retains the familiar serious distortions regarding the American and British roles in the war. Actual aid is just barely acknowledged. The term "sabotage," however, is used in respect to delays in the opening of the second front and, by juxtaposition, is implied in respect to the suspension of shipment of arms along the frightfully expensive Murmansk route in the spring of 1943. Further, it is stated, war in the Pacific developed despite the efforts of the "ruling circles" of the United States and England to promote Japanese aggression against the Soviet Union.

The over-all political lessons, internal and external, represent explicit and depersonalized commentaries on Leninist views of political development. Political figures are given somewhat more prominence than generals in the text and photographs, but the prevailing image is that of the masses and the Soviet socialist system as the true heroes. Also, as is to be expected, the war is treated as a product of imperialism and the calculations of its ruling classes, but is also treated as the progenitor of new revolutionary advantage. Thus, the period of the Second World War brought, according to the book, a doubling in the number of nations establishing relations with the USSR and a quadrupling in the number of members in the world's Communist parties; out of the war came the present "world socialist system" and unfolding of the wars and revolutions of national liberation.

The twelve-page chronology is of some help, as are the thirty maps of specifically Soviet operations against Germany. Three-fourths of the material deals with

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these, but does not necessarily enlarge understanding of the military aspects of Soviet warfare.

Kent State University ALFRED A. SKERPAN

Near East

ARMENIA ON THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE, 1918. By *Richard G. Hovannisian.* [Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 364. $8.50.)

PROFESSOR Hovannisian has undertaken a difficult task in this account of the desperate struggle of the Armenian nation to create a political existence for itself under the buffeting of the First World War and in the face of abandonment by the Russian government. History can count few, if any, more tragic episodes; to tell such an emotionally charged story objectively is a formidable assignment. It is also a complicated story since Armenia was divided between the Turkish and Russian Empires. Armenian political ambitions therefore involved both Empires as well as their Transcaucasian neighbors, the Georgians and Azerbaijanis.

The challenge has been well met. The narrative, based on sources in six languages, makes demands on the reader's attention, but it is always comprehensible, and while there is no doubt where the author stands, he presents with understanding the positions of all involved. Perhaps what is most impressive, he does not obtrusively take sides within the Armenian community between the Dashnaktzutiun (revolutionary federation) and its opponents.

Following three introductory chapters on the background of Armenian nationalism, the author describes the massacres in Turkey; the Russian invasion of Anatolia, which raised hopes of uniting the two Armenias; the surge of enthusiasm that followed the March revolution with its promise of a liberal regime in Russia; the pall of the Bolshevik revolution; and the crushing blow of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. That document not only ended all Russian claims to Turkish Armenia, but actually surrendered half of Russian Armenia to the Turks and left the remainder wide open to Turkish invasion.

The account of the short-lived Federative Republic of Transcaucasia in which the three Transcaucasian peoples briefly united is the best I have seen. This is so not only because of Hovannisian's extensive use of archives, including the Armenian, but also because of his admirable objectivity. He is free of the frequent Armenian disposition to blame the failure of the republic on the perfidy of the Georgians and Azerbaijanis and equally free of the tendency of hostile writers to make a scapegoat of the Dashnakists.

Well handled too is the attempt of the Armenians to stand alone after the creation of their own republic in May 1918 "under conditions so tragic as to defy adequate description." With this makeshift they held out until the end of the war brought an opportunity to appeal to the Allies to put something behind their myriad expressions of sympathy and support. A second volume that will carry the story further, presumably to the Soviet conquest of 1920, is promised.

Kent State University JAMES B. GIDNEY

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Africa

LAND POLICY IN COLONIAL ALGERIA: THE ORIGINS OF THE RURAL PUBLIC DOMAIN. By *John Ruedy*. [University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies, Number 10. Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 115. $3.50.)

GRADUALLY through four movements France conquered all of Algeria: Turko-Moorish or city conquests, 1830–1837; conquests of the Arab plains, 1839–1847; Kabylie Mountains acquisition, 1851–1871; conquest of the desert, 1870–1900. This study covers the first two conquests or the period 1830–1847. After describing the different types of Arab land tenure prior to 1830, the author systematically shows how France acquired the land and added it to the public domain to be transferred to the French *colons*. Although Marshal de Bourmont signed a treaty of capitulation with the dey of Algiers promising to respect the property rights of the defeated, his successor, General Clausel, on September 8, 1830, issued a decree that confiscated the property of the Turks who had left Algeria. This opened the door for a long series of laws allowing France to deprive the Arabs of their land. Although the inhabitants were to be compensated, bureaucratic delays and the difficulty of proving ownership deprived many of just compensation. Millions of francs of indebtedness were simply repudiated by France. In Algiers alone in order to make the city more habitable for Europeans, more than eight hundred houses, shops, and stores were demolished in the process of widening streets and making public squares large enough for marshaling troops. If the owners were compensated, it was often only at half the estimated value, and many never received payment. Certainly the most controversial policy was the French colonization of *habous* (property donated to a Muslim institution as a religious act); both Muslims and European sympathizers condemned this policy.

The study is well documented with primary sources. In several instances the quotations from the French would read better if they were more freely translated.

This is the only detailed study of the French land policy in colonial Algeria. It is a significant contribution to North African history. Scholars can hope that it will be followed someday by a similar study of the period 1847–1900.

DePauw University DWIGHT L. LING

FRENCH NORTH AFRICA: THE MAGHRIB BETWEEN TWO WORLD WARS. By *Jacques Berque*. Translated by *Jean Stewart*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. 422. $12.50.)

ORIGINALLY published in France (1962) under the title *Le Maghreb entre les deux guerres*, this study is the profound and sensitive work of a French sociologist who has devoted his adult life to the examination of the Islamic world of the Near East and North Africa. Divided into five parts ("Assessment of the Situation," "Fragments of Local History," "The Reckoning," "The Floating Island," and "The Maghrib: Past and Future") the book eschews political institutions and focuses upon the people and their nonpolitical behavior. Professor Berque

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knows these people intimately, and he supplements the spotty sources with both personal recollection and experience.

The book has the quality in many sections of a beautiful Impressionistic painting. The author obviously cannot allow himself to be overwhelmed by the enormous variety of life nor by its complexity as it ranged from tribal organization to urban habitation and as it applied to Muslims and Europeans of all ranks. He nevertheless intelligently isolates the vital nuance and translates his keen perception into brilliant, general insight. One example, chosen without serious search, will help the potential reader understand this quality. "The North African village of the inter-war period—that fertile field of contact between Europeans and men of the Maghrib, even where statistics show one of these to be lacking; where the sedentary way of life has conquered the nomadic, and Cain has vanquished Abel—has stabilized discords without resolving them."

No overriding thesis is argued, but Berque in at least two passages pays homage to the well-known authoritative political analysis of Charles A. Julien. Berque believes, too, that "the Maghribi nation arose out of the colonial triumph." The idea that the seeds and flowers of Western imperialism contained their own destruction as the indigenous people imbibed their lessons from the West and then watched the Europeans tear themselves apart in two world wars is scarcely unique. Stéphane Bernard's *Le conflit franco-marocain, 1943–1956* (see *AHR,* LXX (Oct. 1964), 103), emphasized the same point. Berque's contribution rests upon the broad range of his sources and his talent in bringing the material into focus. He suggests that the years 1934–1935 mark the watershed, or as he states "the date of this reversal." After that time the same forces produced contrary results, and, he believes, the end of French political domination could be seen by clear minds. The colonial power mastered the state, but lost contact with the land—the influence of the clear minds proved weak. Berque promises a study on the Maghrib since independence. It will be challenging to see how he evaluates the continuing French cultural presence.

Oakland University RICHARD M. BRACE

MODERNIZATION AND BRITISH COLONIAL RULE IN EGYPT, 1882–1914. By *Robert L. Tignor.* [Princeton Studies on the Near East.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 417. $9.00.)

FOLLOWING in the wake of two most important general works on modernization by C. E. Black and Barrington Moore, Jr., Robert Tignor's study of British rule and Egyptian society gives specific insights into problems of equal concern to political scientists, economists, and historians. He deals with such issues as agriculture and irrigation, education and public health, agriculture and law; in a sense he stands at the interdisciplinary frontier. Basing his interpretation on one of the traditional sources of the historians of the expansion of Europe (notably the British Foreign Office documents at the Public Record Office), he also has much to say about Britain's occupation of Egypt in 1882. His conclusions support the contention of the Pooh-Bahs of the history of Africa's partition, Messrs. Robinson and Gallagher, that owing to the British occupation "The French were alienated because of their rival interests in Egypt and the forces of national im-

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perialism were let loose on the African continent." So much for Professor Stengers.

The main point of the book is "the impact of British administration upon Egyptian society." In that regard Tignor contributes much that is new and important, not least in his discussion of the misconceptions of Lord Cromer and others concerning the nature of Egyptian society and the nationalist movement. His conclusion in this regard illustrates both the content and the high quality of scholarship of the entire work: the British "tended to regard Egyptian nationalism as the work of a few, discontented demagogues, not representative of the will of the people. For these reasons they did not prepare Egypt as thoroughly for its independence as they would have if their perception of the future of Egypt had been clearer."

Yale University WM. ROGER LOUIS

MODERN EGYPT. By *Tom Little*. [Nations of the Modern World.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xiii, 300. $7.50.)

ALTHOUGH intended to be a history of modern Egypt, this work devotes nearly two-thirds of its space to Egypt since the army revolt and successful *coup d'état* of 1952. It is fortunate that the author has arranged his material this way, for he is obviously an extremely well-informed observer of the contemporary Egyptian political scene, the result, presumably, of his personal experiences in the Middle East. His efforts to reconstruct the earlier history of Egypt are less successful. A number of inaccurate statements appear. The Anglo-French dual control is said to have defended the rights of the Egyptian peasants when, in fact, the incessant demands for increased tax revenues certainly made it difficult to improve the lot of the peasantry. Much of the repressive legislation that Mr. Little attributes to Lord Kitchener, consul general in Egypt from 1911 to 1914, was actually the handiwork of his supposedly more liberal predecessor, Sir Eldon Gorst. Nor does lack of concrete information restrain the author from generalizing on the reputed happiness or misery of the peasantry at various junctures in Egyptian history.

The chapters dealing with Egypt since 1952 are much more rewarding. Little has more complete knowledge and a better feel for this period. His sympathy for President Nasser is apparent, but it does not inhibit him from making critical statements about Egypt's foreign policy adventures or its search for economic development. Let it be said, however, that the treatment of modern Egypt lacks the analytical depth of some of the best works on the Nasser period. The author is disappointing on Egyptian economics; the reader will have to go to works by Issawi, O'Brien, and others for more complete information. Indeed, one of the major weaknesses is that Little does not succeed in showing the connections between political and economic factors, domestic and foreign policy considerations. Each area of investigation tends to be treated as a discrete entity, but this approach is certainly faulty, especially for Egypt where the goals of economic advancement, Arab nationalism, anti-Zionism, and even ultimate democratic development intertwine. The best sections deal with foreign policy, and here we are indebted to the author for bringing together in a single book much diffuse material. Egypt's foreign policy ventures are traced from the opening negotiations

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with the British over withdrawal from Egypt to the recent war with Israel. For this alone *Modern Egypt* will certainly be a useful reference work.

Princeton University ROBERT L. TIGNOR

THE ARABS AND THE SUDAN: FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By *Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan.* (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1967. Pp. x, 298. $8.95.)

THIS important book has a double significance: on the one hand it deals with a long-neglected period in the history of the Sudan; on the other it marks the emergence of a new generation of Sudanese historians. Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, of the University of Khartoum, was trained at the University of London, where he received his doctorate. He has been able to combine his thorough knowledge of Arabic sources and the traditions, both oral and written, of the northern Sudanese with the rigorous historical analysis associated with Western historiography. Not since the earlier work of Mekki Shibeika, *British Policy in the Sudan, 1882–1902* (1952), has a Sudanese historian written so successfully in English and for the first time about the medieval Sudan.

Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan first analyzes the beginning of relations between the Nubians and the Arabs who penetrated beyond Aswan in the mid-seventh century. He discusses with great perception the controversial "treaty" between 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd and the Nubians, concluding that the "treaty" was really a *baqṭ,* a compact of mutual obligations and its connected payments and not the product of military victory or defeat. The legend that the *baqṭ* was a treaty was developed later by Muslim jurists to explain the anomaly of the *baqṭ* which was alien to Muslim international law. The Arab penetration of the Sudan was thus not begun by 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd's warriors, whom the Nubians repulsed, but by Arab merchants who traded in slaves, Arab miners who controlled the gold and emerald deposits in the desert east of the Nile, and the pilgrims who passed from Upper Egypt to Mecca through the strategic port of 'Aydhāb on the Red Sea. These contacts continued throughout the long life of Christian Nubia, acquainting the Arabs with the northern Sudan and in fact introducing an Arab element into the Nubian population.

The Fatimid and Ayyubid rulers of Egypt were content to leave the Christian kingdoms of the Sudan, Al-Muqurra and 'Alwa, alone so long as the *baqṭ* was forthcoming and the Arab traders, miners, and pilgrims could travel peacefully on the fringe of Nubia. The Mamluks, however, were not. They began to intervene directly in Nubian affairs and in an effort to control Al-Muqurra sent military expeditions that brought an end to Christian Nubia. In fact the Mamluks only delivered the final blow. For centuries small groups of Arab Bedouins, following in the footsteps of Arab merchants, miners, and pilgrims or fleeing before Mamluk exactions, settled along the Nile, intermarried with the Nubians, and by the Nubian custom of matrilinear succession, undermined the authority of the Christian rulers who then disappeared before the Muslim onslaught.

Although the outlines of Arab penetration into the Sudan have been previously presented by A. J. Arkell and H. A. MacMichael, neither had employed the

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wealth of Arabic source materials nor the body of tradition available to Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan whose work will be welcomed by all scholars of the Middle East and Africa for its detailed narrative, dispassionate judgments, and clarity of presentation.

University of California, Santa Barbara ROBERT O. COLLINS

EDWARD WILMOT BLYDEN: PAN-NEGRO PATRIOT, 1832–1912. By *Hollis R. Lynch*. [West African History Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 272. $6.70.)

BLYDEN's life took him from a free childhood in Saint Thomas to the United States where, still a boy in 1850, he was fired by the idea of colonization. In succeeding years he became an outstanding agent, propagandist, and directing force in Liberia and a philosopher of Negro nationalism and capacities. His views were not, and are not, shared by all Negroes and explain why he is unlikely ever to be a universal symbol of their aspirations.

For example, most American Negroes viewed colonization, in the pre-Civil War years, as a tool of antagonistic whites for ridding the country of free Negroes. They also preserved a sense of secrecy and community to which Blyden did not subscribe. He honored "pure" blacks over mulattoes. His loyalty was to his program for Liberia more than, indiscriminately, to his fellow Negroes.

Blyden became a Liberian journalist and educator whose respect for indigenous Africans, among other factors, inspired in him Pan-Negro hopes. He wrote ardent defenses of Liberia, struggled to build up its immigration and to attract financial and intellectual aid, and made historical studies calculated to foster the pride of Negroes in their heritage. Blyden was also a politician and a diplomat, visited the United States many times, and carried out missions to England. He was involved in Liberia's many crises.

He left Negroes a mixed heritage. His wholehearted cooperation with imperialist agents was hardly likely to furnish inspiration to later Negro nationalists. Yet they seem to have recognized generally that his intentions were to serve their people. His influence on such colonizationists as Marcus Garvey and George Padmore is evident. His racial passion transcended his controversial views. He was a Presbyterian clergyman, yet he concluded that Christianity had stifled the "African personality," while Islam had developed it. His most notable writing was *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (1887). Whether it was well advised or ill advised, it is clear that his goal was Negro advancement.

Professor Lynch conscientiously records Blyden's weaknesses as an organizer and thinker, but concludes that his long service and dedication entitle him to be honored and remembered. Many of the events and personalities discussed are far from earth shaking; it would be a disservice to pretend that they are. But they constitute beginnings of Negro and African enterprise, and Lynch has given them clear and forthright treatment. They merit appreciation and integration with relevant studies at home and abroad.

Antioch College LOUIS FILLER

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AUTORITÉS TRADITIONNELLES ET POUVOIRS EUROPÉENS EN AFRIQUE NOIRE: LE DÉCLIN D'UNE ARISTOCRATIE SOUS LE RÉGIME COLONIAL. By *Jacques Lombard.* [Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, Number 152.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 291.)

JACQUES Lombard has undertaken an ambitious and important task: to assess the postcolonial significance of traditional authority structures in sub-Saharan Africa. As the title suggests, his conclusion is that, with few exceptions, the corrosive effect of subordination to colonial tutelage voids traditional systems of their legitimacy. Lombard argues that, whether administration was "direct" or "indirect," colonial powers inevitably made chiefs responsible for tax collection, labor conscription, road building, and other invidious tasks that cast them in an oppressive role, unable to maintain their influence when challenged by a new elite.

The universe from which Lombard's observations are drawn is in fact considerably more restricted than the title suggests. He has given thorough coverage to most former French territories, especially the coastal states and above all Dahomey. There is some discussion of ex-British Africa, although it is mainly restricted to Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, and Tanganyika. The rest of tropical Africa is not treated. He relies primarily on anthropological monographs and administrative archives in Paris, Dakar, and Cotonou. Lombard does not make clear in his bibliography and footnotes to what extent he has supplemented these sources with his own field data; he has spent some years in Dahomey, and his observations on that country are particularly detailed and convincing.

The nature of the sources and the scope of his analysis determine his conclusions. As a contribution to the history of the relationships between traditional authority structures and colonial ruler in most of former French West Africa, the volume is highly rewarding. The key hypotheses, however, are not supported by broad enough data to be accepted on an Africa-wide scale. The anthropological studies and administrative archives describe the colonial situation. Verification of his hypotheses by empirical examination of postindependence outcomes has been done for only a handful of the thirty-three independent sub-Saharan states. Were Lombard to undertake this, surely he would be forced to adopt a much more nuanced position.

Although the author describes his study as a contribution to political science, he has almost entirely overlooked the work in this discipline, with the exception of that by David Apter and Gus Liebenow. Martin Kilson, William Foltz, Thomas Hodgkin, Ruth Schachter Morganthau, Richard Sklar, James Coleman, Dennis Austin, to mention but a few, have all made important contributions to this topic; several of them provide evidence that might suggest major modifications in the conclusions. Despite these objections, the book is valuable for what it does do well: it provides a detailed case study of the impact of French rule on traditional authority structures in West Africa.

University of Wisconsin M. CRAWFORD YOUNG

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LESOTHO, BOTSWANA, & SWAZILAND: THE FORMER HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. By *Richard P. Stevens*. [The Praeger Library of African Affairs.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. 294. $7.50.)

THIS is a brief, straightforward account of British administration in the High Commission Territories. It is essentially three long, separate essays, one for each territory. The same format is used for each presentation. This includes the early history of the areas before British rule, administrative practices through the 1950's, the birth of political parties and constitution making through 1965, and a concluding section on economic factors. Dr. H. George Henry wrote the excellent short economic segments. The title is somewhat misleading since the narrative ends before Lesotho and Botswana became independent.

Mr. Stevens traces the political development of each territory after the reluctant British assumption of responsibility to the period of hasty constitution making of the 1960's that prefaced independence. Although not specifically stressed by the author, the British record of vacillation, half measures, and refusals to establish effective mechanisms for advance toward clearly defined goals show through the narrative.

South Africa's importance to each is shown in two ways. The first is the negative reaction in Britain and in the territories to the racialist native policy. This factor more than any other caused Britain's retention of the enclaves after 1910 and ultimately its agreement to their independence. Equally important is the economic dependence of the territories, particularly Basutoland, upon the republic. Therefore, the British had to foster constitutions and political parties for the new states that would continue good relations with the republic. This was important for Britain also, in order to balance its financial interests in the republic with its responsibilities toward the territories. The need for conservative, responsible governments led to anomalies such as the different constitutions for the Basuto and the Swazi. In the former case the paramount chief became a figurehead while the latest Swazi constitution recognizes the paramount chief's authoritarian position.

The book falls somewhere between a textbook approach and a detailed scholarly analysis. This is obvious by the author's attempt to survey in one short book three complicated, diverse groups of people over a long span of time, and the use of few primary sources. Stevens should not be criticized, however, for this approach. There is a need for books that attempt to synthesize complex African developments for nonspecialists, particularly students.

San Jose State College HARRY A. GAILEY, JR.

SOUTH AFRICA: AN IMPERIAL DILEMMA. NON-EUROPEANS AND THE BRITISH NATION, 1902–1914. By *Benjamin Sacks*. ([Albuquerque:] University of New Mexico Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 356. $8.95.)

THIS study describes the troubled conscience of the "British Nation" confronted with the dilemma: should Britain interfere to champion the nonwhites of South Africa at the risk of losing the imperial advantages of a loyal white Dominion?

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Other books have touched upon the problem, but this one takes note of all significant incidents involving Africans, Cape Coloreds, and Indians during the critical formative years 1902–1914. The chapters on the Zulus in Natal and the Indian question are full and noteworthy. Official policy is delineated from the statements of ministers and official Blue Books, from private papers, from Colonial Office "Confidential Prints," and to some degree from minutes and correspondence found only in the Colonial Office archives. The last two sources were not available to most earlier commentators. The book's major contribution is intended, however, to be an analysis of British opinion. While the presentation is purely descriptive, the author's diligence in gathering and summarizing materials from a wide spectrum of sources of opinion is everywhere evident. What is more, he is careful to give the background required for understanding the incidents discussed and putting them into the context of South African history. These aspects of the book will make it useful for college and general library collections.

The presentation unfortunately plods along, and the author remains entirely aloof as narrator, giving almost no help to a reader's understanding by analysis and interpretation, although he is certainly well equipped to give such guidance. The design of the research is also unclear, a common failing of historical writing of this genre. In what way were the many available sources of opinion sampled and opinions selected for presentation? Did the author consider other categories than Conservative-Liberal-Labour for organizing his data? In defining the "opinion" of the "British Nation," what weight was given to sources and views independent of party conflict? Professor Sacks could no doubt have said much about the processes and agencies that formulate British opinion; an analysis of this sort would have added greatly to the book's value. Footnotes are at the end, with few exceptions. Old Colonial Office hands will miss C.O. 417 (High Commission) Series among the sources and will be a little unhappy with the mere citation of series and volume without further identification of papers or minutes.

California State College, Long Beach RICHARD H. WILDE

Asia and the East

SETTLEMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN ASIA. By *Wolfram Eberhard.* [Collected Papers, Volume I.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 492. $10.00.)

WITH this volume a distinguished sociologist inaugurates the publication of a series of seven volumes of collected papers, which represent well over thirty-five years of reading, research, and field work, covering various parts of Asia.

The contents are rich: twenty-four valuable essays, of which eight are published here for the first time, are divided into six parts. Parts I and II each contain a short general discussion of land tenure in the ancient Orient and the growth of Chinese civilization. Part III consists of three essays on family, city, and industry in traditional China. In Part IV are four studies on problems of settlement in medieval China: detailed work on the northwestern border prefecture Tunhuang, based mainly on Han documents on wood and T'ang documents on paper

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found in that area. Part V consists of seven studies on settlement and development in modern south China and Korea, based chiefly on field work done in recent years. Part VI contains eight papers on settlement in the Near East, including southeastern and southern Turkey, West Pakistan, and Afghanistan, again based on recent studies and field work.

In these essays the author combines effectively a socioeconomic and historical and genealogical approach. His aim is to understand the formation and growth of culture and the dynamics of society. In the foreword he reminds the reader that "these papers do not always represent my present state of information, but show rather the stages in the development of efforts to see and study the data from fresh angles." Professor Eberhard is cautious in drawing definitive conclusions, but never fails to be stimulating. Some of his new findings, for instance, that "in medieval China parents started families at a later age than did the parents of the last 150 years," challenge further study.

Throughout the volume the reader is conveniently supplied with notes and references (with ample Chinese characters) and thirty-one plates. At the end are a bibliography of Eberhard's works (1931–1965) and two indexes. The veteran publisher Henri Vetch deserves applause for another fine job.

Harvard University LIEN-SHENG YANG

THE PRACTICE OF CHINESE BUDDHISM, 1900–1950. By *Holmes Welch*. [Harvard East Asian Studies, Number 26.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 568. $12.50.)

IN that the topic of this book is practice, not theory, and that its time focus is the twentieth rather than the fifth century, I am a bit out of my depth.

The preface indicates that the original intention was to deal with Buddhism in both republican and Communist China, but that ambition proved to be out of keeping with reality. As a consequence, the Communist period had to be postponed to a later volume. Also, the present work confines itself to current practice in the narrow sense of the word, excluding both nunneries and Lamaism and dealing only tangentially with Buddhism in Chinese communities elsewhere than on the mainland of China. In spite of this, the 408 pages of text and 116 pages of notes indicate the thoroughness of the work.

Since the space allotted for this review is slight, one cannot do much more than describe. The book consists of two parts: the first concerning institutions, the second dealing with individuals, the former being the personnel and buildings, "hereditary and branch temples," the economy, the abbot, and rites for the dead, the latter describing the monastic career, the Buddhist layman, and the "nature of the system." There are also nine appendixes containing detail on the above-mentioned subjects, in addition to an extensive bibliography of works in English, French, German, and Japanese, as well as Chinese, and a combination "Glossary Index" containing, among other things, the Chinese characters corresponding to the names and terms used.

The quantity of fact, amassed from both personal interviews and written records, is fairly staggering and also well lined with sophisticated comment on many phases of the problem, not excluding similarities to and differences from

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Christianity. Unhappily, while showing himself fully aware of the issues involved, Mr. Welch perpetuates the mistranslation of *tsung* as "sect," but this is a mere trifle in such an excellent context.

The book is rendered lively by a body of well-chosen photographs and, most of all, by Welch's wit: "There is the story of one old woman who left off reciting the Mantra of Great Compassion just long enough to remind her servant to kill a chicken for supper. But Chinese Buddhism surely has no monopoly on mechanical piety."

University of Washington LEON HURVITZ

WARLORD: YEN HSI-SHAN IN SHANSI PROVINCE, 1911–1949. By *Donald G. Gillin*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 334. $9.00.)

YEN Hsi-shan was civil and military ruler of the wealthy and strategically located province of Shansi from the collapse of the Chinese Empire in 1911 until the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. The inertia of millennial tradition in China was so powerful until the late nineteenth century that change seemed very slow compared with European history. Yet in the twentieth century an upheaval of unprecedented scope and fury has occurred within the span of a single human life: the last Emperor of China has just died in Peking, and Mao Tse-tung remembers a time when the central imperial power still controlled his native province of Hunan, eighteen days and eighteen hours distant from the capital by relays of mounted couriers.

The intervening era, essentially one of decentralized warlord government, has recently become the research focus of several young scholars who have broken away from earlier stereotypes to search the documentary record for what really happened and why. Professor Gillin's readable, thoughtful, and thoroughly documented biography of one of the major figures of the time, Marshal Yen, is an important contribution to our understanding of the transition from the most stable and long-lived centralized polity to a new centralizing polity that apparently cannot control the explosive forces on which it rode to power and whose announced goals make Trotsky's boldest visions seem almost mild.

Gillin has taken a large but still manageable section of the intervening period of disunion and subjected it to analysis as microscopic as the exceptionally rich available documentation permits. The result is a multifaceted regional history, clearly set in its general context and made both coherent and dramatic by its biographical focus. In the colorful figure that emerges, vestiges of tradition mingle, but fail to blend with a naïve search for new solutions to problems that had threatened China's very existence for nearly a century. As Gillin points out, Yen's "traditional" policies had been tried and found wanting decades earlier. In his "radical" policies—general education, reform of customs, wider popular participation in public affairs—he was halfhearted, and not part of the New China of the lively urban centers. Yet he went far enough to contribute to the undermining of the society he sought to preserve and reinvigorate.

The Japanese attack confirmed the power of the Communists in the villages of Yen's province of Shansi because the Communists were already winning the

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kind of massive peasant support that a man like Yen could not understand, much less seek. In view of current interpretive controversies, it is important to note Gillin's evidence of Communist successes before the Japanese attack and in areas never subject to Japanese occupation.

Yale University MARY C. WRIGHT

PA CHIN AND HIS WRITINGS: CHINESE YOUTH BETWEEN THE TWO REVOLUTIONS. By *Olga Lang*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 28.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 402. $7.95.)

THERE is, in this work, a happy meeting of the empathy of Olga Lang, the writings of Pa Chin, and the outlook of modern Chinese youth. The result is historical sympathy.

Youth has nothing to do with age. It is a suspended state of mind, manifesting itself as a cultural phenomenon. Each society has its peculiar way of spanning the gap between childhood and maturity. At some historical junctures the span breaks down, however, and youth begins to define his own culture against the traditional value of maturity. Modern China, from 1919 to 1949, may be viewed as the vicissitudes of the Nationalists or the triumph of the Communists. But it is also *The Torrent* and *Love* of Chinese youth, as mirrored in the two trilogies of Pa Chin.

That suspension between childhood (already lost) and maturity (no longer possible) we can sense in both Pa Chin and his youthful readers. The compulsion was to commitment, and, for many, Communism was preferred over nationalism. But for those who would not or could not, Pa Chin's novels became their own mirror image. The rhythm of youth is intensity all at one level; it becomes difficult, therefore, to separate Pa Chin, his novels, and modern Chinese youth. They are all of one piece, wedged in between lost innocence and unrealized dream, between Nationalist conformity and Communist discipline. Self-recognition is obtained at the expense of structure and perspective.

If Pa Chin has a peculiar rapport with youths of his generation, then Lang has corresponding empathy for both Pa Chin and Chinese youth. This is the forte of her book, based on personal knowledge as well as extensive reading. Her narrative successfully blended the relevant background story of modern China, the career of Pa Chin, and certain revelatory passages from his writings. She has accomplished her announced objective of viewing "the actions and motivations of this romantic revolutionary as they were seen by his young readers who accepted them at face value."

New York City DONALD M. LOWE

CONTEST OVER JAPAN. By *Herbert Feis*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1967. Pp. 187. $5.00.)

BIT by bit the story of the Allied occupation of Japan is being pieced together. Since 1952 emphasis has been on Washington's policy, MacArthur's administration, and the impact of the occupation on Japan. With this brief but comprehen-

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sive synthesis the spotlight shifts to the protracted tug of war between Moscow and Washington for control over Japan's future role in the Far East. "What . . . [the Soviet authorities] really disliked was the dominating presence in Japan of the United States. . . ." Actually, as events have proved, American policy was "directed toward the emergence of a democratized, peaceful, and independent Japan," never losing sight, however, of the fact that that country would constitute "the only strong barrier to Communist domination of the whole of Northeast Asia." At the London and Moscow Conferences of September and December 1945, Japan's fate hung on whether the American diplomats could hold their own against the stubborn Soviet negotiators. Secretary of State James F. Byrnes finally yielded to V. M. Molotov's demands for what became the Far Eastern Commission and the Allied Council, which were to determine occupation policy and to supervise its administration, but only after making certain that the wings of those Allied bodies had been effectively clipped. Except for Washington's intransigence at this stage, Moscow would have exerted strong influence on the direction and conduct of the political phase of the occupation. As it was, though not mentioned in this monograph, so much was conceded by the American side that MacArthur felt compelled to accelerate Washington's project for revising the Meiji Constitution in order to escape the Soviet veto that came into play upon activation of the Far Eastern Commission in late February 1946. With a Western-style democratic government thus assured, Soviet maneuvers to disrupt the American political reform program for Japan were henceforth checked by the US representative on the Far Eastern Commission in Washington, by MacArthur in his confrontations with the Allied Council in Tokyo, and by United Nations arms on the battlefields of Korea.

This volume makes good reading. Students in particular will welcome it not because it adds much that is new but because it places in proper perspective, from the American point of view, the postwar power struggle for hegemony over a highly strategic area of the Far East. Most of the account has to do with the diplomacy of W. Averell Harriman, Byrnes, and Harry S. Truman in 1945, about which Dr. Feis is very well informed. He is on somewhat less familiar ground when dealing with American occupation policy and the work of MacArthur.

The appendixes consist of all or pertinent parts of seven agreements, orders, and proposals bearing on postwar Japan.

Washington, D. C. JUSTIN WILLIAMS

MALABAR IN ASIAN TRADE, 1740–1800. By *Ashin Das Gupta.* [Cambridge South Asian Studies.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 204. $10.50.)

ASHIN Das Gupta has written a first-rate study of the transformation of commercial and political life of the Malabar Coast during the eighteenth century. The book is of more than provincial interest because Malabar was changing in response to some of the same forces affecting other parts of Asia. With the Afghan occupation of Persia in 1722, traders from Sind, Cambay, Cutch, and Muscat came south to Malabar looking for new markets and stimulated a commercial

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revival among the petty coastal kingdoms of Malabar. The "turning of the Northern Trade," in fact, brought new wealth to the independent Malabar merchants, including Haji Yusuf and the Jewish Surgun family of Calicut and the Konkani Brahman Prabhu family, the Jewish Rahabi family, and the Bania Chettys of Cochin. However, both "the medieval merchant" and the Dutch at Cochin were threatened by the expansion of Travancore from the south during the 1730's and 1740's. Until the rise of Travancore, the local rajas and merchants had depended upon each other, one supplying toll revenue and the other protection. Travancore under Raja Martanda Varma upset this traditional system by creating a pepper monopoly to finance its growing army and bureaucracy. During the second half of the century Travancore's monopoly, Batavia's policy of restricting sugar exports to Cochin, Mysore's invasion of the Malabar Coast, the spread of "the contagion of royal trade" to Calicut and Cochin, and the intrusion of English power combined to bring about the withdrawal of the Dutch in 1795 and the bankruptcy of many medieval merchants.

Das Gupta has described the complicated interplay of these developments in graceful English. Although there is much to praise in this slim volume, the chapter on "The Medieval Merchant" will, for comparative purposes, be especially useful to students interested in the decline of Indian merchants in other regions at this time. While his main sources were the Dutch and English company records, his concern is as much indigenous commerce, production, and state building. Any scholar who wishes to follow him into the records of eighteenth-century Malabar should find the lengthy bibliographical notes indispensable.

Northwestern University JOHN R. MCLANE

BRITISH BAPTIST MISSIONARIES IN INDIA, 1793–1837: THE HISTORY OF SERAMPORE AND ITS MISSIONS. By *E. Daniel Potts*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. 276. $10.00.)

THERE is no doubt that Christian missionaries were, after the East India Company, the most important European influence in India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. (One should keep in mind that the influence of Christian teaching was much greater than the missionaries' ability to convert.) In this study Dr. Potts has cultivated intensively a small section of the wide field surveyed by Kenneth Ingham in his *Reformers in India, 1793–1833* (1956). Like Ingham, Potts has made good use of rich missionary archives that have been otherwise relatively neglected, especially by American scholars.

The author looks at the background of missionary activity in India, the Baptist literary effort, their role in social reform, their relationship with the government, and the Indian response. To a great extent the discussion inevitably focuses on the great Serampore trio—William Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward. Of the three, Marshman was perhaps the most intelligent, Carey the most creative, and Ward the most technically skilled; all were brimming over with puritan zeal. Among the dissenting Protestant missionaries, they particularly brought a seminal idealism to Indian social reform.

The chapter called "Translation, Literature, Journalism, and Printing" is academic history near its best. It was in these endeavors, not in the management of

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schools nor in the humanitarian attacks on infanticide, self-torture, "ghat murder," or widow burning that the Serampore brotherhood was most effective. Potts plainly states that this achievement was heavily indebted to the work of native translators. But, like Dr. Johnson's lady who preached in public, the wonder was that it was done at all, not that it was done imperfectly. In one Pashto version of the New Testament, "Judge not, that ye be not judged" appeared as "Do not practise equity, lest equity be practised towards you." The Baptists printed the first vernacular newspaper, established presses, manufactured paper, and provided a significant influence in the birth of a Bengali vernacular prose.

The sole objection one might make to this excellent comment is the excessive evidence presented; the author seems loath to allow one single pertinent fact to go unmentioned. Within the confines of a small book this results in a highly compressed text and some awkward sentences. But, on balance, this is a minor fault. Every scholar in the field will experience the pleasure of recognizing a first-class work as he reads these pages.

Los Angeles Valley College MARK NAIDIS

THE WAHABI MOVEMENT IN INDIA. By *Qeyamuddin Ahmad.* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1966. Pp. xxvi, 391. Rs. 25.)

THE eighteenth-century Arabian Wahhabiyah advocated a return to the fundamental principles of early Islamic society as a solution to the decadence of the modern Muslim world. The Wahabi leadership stressed a simple obedience to the law of the Koran and a rejection of theological argument and religious ritual. The movement was puritanical and vigorous. It carried enormous appeal for those Muslims everywhere who were disillusioned with the failure of Islam to realize fully its historic mission. Nowhere was the ground more suitable for such an outlook than in India, where the collapse of the Mogul Empire had left Muslims under the rule of British, Sikh, and Hindu powers. Although the author of the present study uses the terms "Wahabi" and "Wahabism" for the nineteenth-century Indian movement, he is unhappy with the appellation. It was used by some English writers to stigmatize Muslim rebels as extremists to be identified with the more fanatical Arabian Wahabis. He looks upon the Indian reforms of Waliyullah and Syed Ahmad Barelvi rather as responses to circumstances similar to those in eighteenth-century Arabia. Indian "Wahabi" developments owed something to the Arabian experience, but differed from the latter, chiefly in the great emphasis upon political emancipation.

The Wahabi Movement in India helps fill the need for modern comprehensive studies of this neglected subject. The only previous single work is Sir William Hunter's *Our Indian Mussalmans* (1871). Qeyamuddin Ahmad has brought together many scattered sources, including private family papers and correspondence, but he has relied chiefly on the contemporary official records of the governments of India and Bengal. The book describes the genesis of the movement and its doctrines and organization. It traces the careers of Syed Ahmad Barelvi and Wilayat and Enayat Ali, together with the intrigues and issues of the frontier campaigns and the Indian Mutiny. The author stresses the anti-British character of the Wahabi throughout, and, though his documentation is quite thorough, he

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leaves little doubt as to his sympathies toward the Indian Muslims. This well-written study is important reading for those who seek to understand the Islamic view of history and the state, and for those who would appreciate the forces at work in modern India and Pakistan.

Prescott College D. MACKENZIE BROWN

CONGRESS AND CONGRESSMEN IN THE PRE-GANDHIAN ERA, 1885–1917. By *Bimanbehari Majumdar* and *Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar*. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1967. Pp. ii, 527. Rs. 35.)

THIS is a self-styled "full-fledged objective history" of the Indian National Congress during its first thirty-three years before Mahatma Gandhi assumed leadership. There may be some question about using "Pre-Gandhian Era" in referring to the period 1885–1917 inasmuch as Gandhi was actively on the scene after 1901.

The father has written the text of the book, including the conclusion, and the son has composed an alphabetic list of 781 persons who delivered speeches in Congress during the period, along with the dates and subjects of their speeches and supplemented by the classified account of original resolutions alphabetically arranged. The objectivity claimed for the book is that it was written from the annual reports of Congress, memoirs, contemporary anti-Congress propaganda literature, journals, newspapers, and unpublished diaries. Thus, the book offers an encyclopedic approach to its subject rather than presenting a biased point of view.

The period 1889–1904 is entitled "The Era of Faith, Prayer and Uniformity" and the latter half, 1905–1917, is called "The Era of Discord and Disillusion." There are fourteen chapters ranging from Congress' genesis and evolution, the Muslims, the party's inner circle, intellectuals in Congress, Presidents, the British Committee of Congress, public services, education, economic questions, judicial reforms, and freedom of the press.

The book is a storehouse of data, including statistics about Congress, which gives it more scholarly value, if not readability, in places.

Old Dominion College ROBERT L. BOCK

INDIA'S QUEST FOR SECURITY: DEFENCE POLICIES, 1947–1965. By *Lorne J. Kavic*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 263. $7.95.)

INDIA'S defense policies have been conditioned by the legacies of the preindependence period, the subordination of defense considerations to political, economic, and ideological objectives, the implications of a policy of socialism at home and nonalignment abroad, the orientation and preoccupations of Jawaharlal Nehru, tensions with Pakistan, and the emergence of a major threat from Communist China. The nationalist leaders of India were strongly opposed to Britain's " 'forward policy' of projecting defence strategy beyond India's natural frontiers." Nehru "envisaged a free India secure against attacks either by its geo-strategic position, its size, or the balance of power." He was inclined to minimize the danger of any threat from outside India's borders, especially from Communist

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China. His general complacency regarding problems of defense was shared by most of the other top leaders of independent India, at least until the sudden turn for the worse in Sino-Indian relations in 1959; and more than three years later, when the Chinese attack came, India was still militarily, politically, and psychologically unprepared. Since late 1962, according to Mr. Kavic, "the creation and maintenance of an imposing military establishment has become an obsession in India"; but the post-Nehru political leadership has proved to be hardly more security-minded than was Nehru himself, and India's limited resources and unlimited needs for development impose serious limitations on its defense capabilities.

All of these matters are touched upon in Kavic's brief study. Particular attention is given to India's "Himalayan policy" during the period 1947–1962 and to the organization of the Indian armed forces during the same period. There are interesting comments on India's relations with the Himalayan border states of Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim, on defense production, and on civilian-military relations, especially during the years from 1957 to 1962, when V. K. Krishna Menon was Defense Minister. Curiously enough, except for a summary of early defense plans against Pakistan, the central theme of Indo-Pakistan relations is almost wholly neglected, perhaps because the author considers Communist China to be "the only real military threat to India." Except for very brief references to the "new" Indian defense program, made public in early 1964, the Indo-Pakistan War of September 1965, and the currently pressing question of developing an independent nuclear capability (on which Kavic holds a strongly negative view), the discussion is confined largely to developments prior to 1963.

While they are no credit to the cartographer's art, the seven maps are helpful guides to the descriptions of military dispositions and operations. The eleven appendixes contain useful, but outdated, information. Since there are few citations in footnotes or bibliography to any publications since 1963, it seems that Kavic confined his research largely to materials issued before or during the period with which he was primarily concerned, namely the first fifteen years of India's independence.

University of Pennsylvania NORMAN D. PALMER

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LAW OF NATIONS IN THE EAST INDIES (16TH, 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES). By *C. H. Alexandrowicz.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 259. $7.70.)

THIS is an interesting study of the treaty and diplomatic arrangements established prior to the nineteenth century by the European nations or their trading companies with the Asian rulers within whose jurisdiction they sought to trade. The author is concerned to show that in this early phase of European-Asian relations the Stoic-Roman tradition of a universal law of nations with its spirit of accommodation and compromise, if not of real equality, still prevailed on the European side in theory and to a considerable extent in practice. Thus international law as it evolved up to the end of the eighteenth century was prepared to embrace where necessary certain non-European legal concepts; *pace* Pannikar, this was an era in which Western influence was not dominant but restricted and marginal. It was

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not until the nineteenth century and the coming of full colonialism-imperialism that international law, paradoxically, began to lose its universality of outlook and to become a Europe-centered and European-dominated system.

In a wide-ranging discussion of the theory and practice of interstate treaty relationships, the author examines the contrasting European and Asian concepts of sovereignty as reflected in a variety of treaty arrangements. Full use has been made of the main printed collections of treaties. Special kinds of agreements such as those concerning jurisdiction, safe-conducts, monopolies, and most-favored-nation treatment are considered. Two chapters are devoted to a discussion of the opposing Dutch and Portuguese points of view as represented in the seventeenth century by Grotius and De Freitas.

Students of Asian history must surely welcome almost any fresh approach to the subject. A book such as this, which brings together a large amount of related information under a general heading, is bound to suggest interesting new points of comparison and contrast. But to me the approach here adopted seems too narrowly legal and diplomatic to be really fruitful, while at the same time the geographical field of inquiry seems too wide to permit useful generalizations concerning matters of international law. It turns out that the "East Indies" of the title are stretched to include not only the present Indonesian islands but also Burma, Siam, India, and Ceylon, and even Persia.

University of British Columbia BRIAN HARRISON

FRANCISCO VIEIRA DE FIGUEIREDO: A PORTUGUESE MERCHANT-ADVENTURER IN SOUTH EAST ASIA, 1624–1667. By *C. R. Boxer.* [Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Number 52.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1967. Pp. 117, 3 plates. 12 gls.)

MUCH has been written about the role of Portuguese soldiers, administrators, and missionaries in the rise and decline of the *Estado da India,* but we still know little about the activities of Lusitanian merchants there. In 1940 Professor Charles R. Boxer, one of the foremost authorities on the Portuguese Empire from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, published an article in a relatively obscure journal concerning the career of one such seventeenth-century merchant-adventurer. It has now been considerably expanded and enriched by the results of additional research, and it appears for the first time in English.

Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo (c. 1600–c. 1667) left his Estremaduran birthplace in his early twenties presumably for military service in the Far East; while there he became a wealthy, influential, and inevitably controversial merchant, shipowner, and sometime diplomatic agent. Vieira performed a variety of delicate diplomatic missions for Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and Indonesian governments, and he possessed skills that were so esteemed by one Portuguese viceroy that he refused to allow him to return to Portugal. But Vieira was primarily a commercial entrepreneur who traded in Indian textiles, Chinese gold, musk, and silks, as well as in Indonesian spices, sandalwood, and tortoise shell. At one time or another his partners included Jesuit fathers, sultans, officials of the Dutch East India Company, and English and Muslim traders.

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In spite of Boxer's admirable investigations in Portuguese and Dutch manuscript and printed materials, Vieira remains a shadowy figure. We know nothing about his physical appearance, the number of his progeny, if any, or the extent of his gains and losses from his bewildering number of complex commercial ventures. Any future investigator of Vieira will greatly profit from the sketch that Boxer has prepared, as well as from the lengthy documentary appendixes that comprise about half of this slender volume, and from the helpful glossary and bibliography, but he will have to supply his own map, for Boxer has lamentably failed to include one. Students of Dutch, Portuguese, and Indonesian history will find this volume very detailed but lucidly written, sensibly organized, and, as with all of Boxer's contributions, a pleasant reading experience.

University of Washington DAURIL ALDEN

L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA THAÏLANDE CONTEMPORAINE. By *Pierre Fistié*. [Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, Relations internationales, Number 156.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 389.)

IT is refreshing to read a study of a Southeast Asian country that is wholly devoted to internal development phenomena. Foreign relations in general and international Communism in particular are touched upon in this book only in so far as they have affected the evolution of Thailand's government and economy and not in terms of the world power struggle. Pierre Fistié is concerned with the causes of the failure of democracy to take root among the Thais, the weakness of their economy, and the shifts in their foreign policy and forms of government. In this context he takes up the influence on Thai traditional society of the physical environment, Buddhism, the advent of a money economy and alien ideologies, and the role of Chinese, Lao, and Malay minorities. The net result of Thailand's perennial political independence is that it is governed by a conservative and opportunistic oligarchy made up of changing cliques of military officers and civil servants.

Fistié's book expands research begun in 1960 as a case study forming part of a project undertaken by the international relations section of the *Fondation nationale des sciences politiques*. Unfortunately, the two years that elapsed between its completion and publication are not adequately bridged by a seven-page postscript written in 1966. There is no evidence, moreover, that the author has ever visited Thailand. This is, nevertheless, an outstanding example of ivory tower academic scholarship by a very competent analyst, and it is thoroughly documented from a wide variety of secondary sources. Fistié makes a worthwhile contribution to the existing literature in presenting data rarely used by English-language scholars on Thailand, such as dissertations written in French by Thai doctoral candidates, and in indicating, on the basis of French sources, the relationship of developments in Thailand during the 1940's to the events of that period in Indochina. Above all, this volume makes available to the French-reading public one of the few scholarly studies in that language of the interrelationships between the political, economic, and social currents in contemporary Thailand.

University of California, Berkeley VIRGINIA THOMPSON

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AUSTRALIAN DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHY. General Editor, *Douglas Pike*. Volume II, 1788–1850, I–Z. Section Editors, *A. G. L. Shaw*, 1788–1825; *C. M. H. Clark*, 1826–1850. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 634. $23.50.)

THIS volume of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* is the second of two planned to cover the period 1788–1850. The next four will deal with the years 1851–1890; the remaining six of the total of twelve projected volumes will cover 1891–1939. Individuals are allocated to the various periods on the basis of editorial judgment as to the time of their most important work, though with an acknowledged bias toward getting as many as possible into the earlier period covered by this and the previous volume. Obviously this *floruit* dating creates problems, and not everyone would agree with the inclusion of some of the names in the present volume; there are several instances in which the subjects seem most precocious, making their contributions to Australian history while still amazingly youthful. But such oddities are comparatively rare among the more than five hundred names in this volume.

The essays are in nearly all instances short and to the point, allowing little scope for literary grace or for the extensive listing of sources. More extended treatment is naturally given to such names as Captain Arthur Phillip, J. D. Lang, Lachlan Macquarie, John Macarthur, W. C. Wentworth, and others of like rank. But the greater number of pages is given over to essential facts about the host of lesser government administrators, military and naval officers, pastoralists, merchants, clergy, journalists, and the occasional scientists or artists who managed to make some mark on their time. Approximately 10 per cent of the subjects were dispatched to Australia as convicts. Any extensive reading of the varied essays gives a panoramic view of Australian interests and activities during the first sixty years of Australian history. The individual lives are the pieces from which the mosaic of Australian history emerges.

There is some lack of consistency regarding the inclusion of British officials in the volume. Why is Lord John Russell included, and Sir Robert Peel omitted? Sir George Murray is mentioned as a Secretary for War and Colonies; T. Spring Rice and Lord Normanby are not. And the essay on Wakefield seems deliberately to underplay the influence of his ideas on Australian history. For those interested in collecting errors this volume seems to offer little scope. But American Civil War buffs would be startled to read that Thomas Francis Meagher, the Irish nationalist who came to the United States after serving a penal term in Australia, raised an Irish brigade that fought on the Confederate side. Such lapses, however, are rare, and the work will be a solid and substantial aid to students of Australian and imperial history.

University of Maryland DONALD C. GORDON

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Americas

FLESH OF STEEL: LITERATURE AND THE MACHINE IN AMERICAN CULTURE. By *Thomas Reed West.* ([Nashville, Tenn.:] Vanderbilt University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 155. $4.50.)

FROM the time that Adam delved and Eve span, mankind has feared the machines he devised "to subdue" the earth, as the King James Version has it. This fear derives partly from a sense of guilt because he has misused them and partly from the threat that he may become the used rather than the user. But basically he is afraid because he views himself as an organism and his tools as mechanisms, limited extensions of his body, and while he must control the machines that "subdue" his natural environment he must also adapt to them.

We have had recently a number of perceptive studies of the impact of technology on society, and they have been written with the hindsight that is possible when one epoch is ending and another beginning. They have been particularly provocative when they focused on the United States, the oldest of the "neotechnic" societies, and, despite a certain poetic imprecision, when they used literary works—their themes, styles, motifs, myths, and metaphors—as historical evidence. Most of these studies, like the literary works, are either laments for lost Edens; briefs for ways of life that are organic, mechanistic, and sometimes a happy blend of the two; or descriptions of elements that cluster about organic and mechanistic poles as they clash, fuse, and shift in relationships to each other.

Mr. West contributes to this genre. For his polar clusters he uses the metaphors "energy" and "discipline." The energy of the industrial society is manifest in its titanic power and productivity, and, like the Titan, is a primordial natural force. Its discipline, exemplified in the assembly line or the metropolis, establishes rhythms and patterns and integrates complex entities, human and inanimate. West deals mainly with responses to industrialism in the United States between World War I and the Great Depression, the stage in technological development that preceded nuclear power and automation. After providing European and nineteenth-century backgrounds, he has chapters on Sherwood Anderson, Waldo Frank, John Dos Passos, Thorstein Veblen and Carl Sandburg, Harold Stearns and Lewis Mumford, and Sinclair Lewis. The progression is toward an affirmation of the machine and its system, and the emphasis is on resolution, though misgivings are duly recorded. Thus Lewis' scientist-hero, Arrowsmith, is a good workman in Veblen's sense, but he works at an organically determined, not a mechanistic, pace. The businessman, Babbitt, fails because he is a bad workman, but the entrepreneur, Dodsworth, succeeds because he unites business responsibility and technological skill.

West deserves praise for sensitive insights, for calling attention to writers like Waldo Frank and Harold Stearns who merit more consideration than they have received, and for pioneering exploration into important territory. The complexity of the subject is such, however, that his book is better in its parts than as a whole.

University of Pennsylvania HENNIG COHEN

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GENESIS OF AMERICAN PATENT AND COPYRIGHT LAW. By *Bruce W. Bugbee.* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1967. Pp. vi, 208. $6.00.)

In tracing the European, and particularly the early American ancestry of the United States patent and copyright systems, this work demonstrates how profitably the development of legal phenomena may be investigated by historians. This is not a legal treatise on patent or copyright law, although the concluding chapter does outline the existing laws enacted pursuant to the powers given Congress by the first article in the Constitution, and although, as the author observes, "the American law of intellectual property can be fully understood only if its roots are known, and court decisions in this field have examined these roots again and again for guidance."

The author observes strictly a conceptual distinction between a monopoly or exclusive grant, and a true patent of invention which rewards the creator of something not previously available to the public, and an "importation franchise" (unknown in American law) which grants an exclusive right to practice a process which the grantee did not himself invent but which had not previously been known in the particular state granting the privilege. This type of franchise, which historically has often been recognized and which from the standpoint of a particular state's economy might well be as beneficial to the public as a true invention, reminds one of the definition of research as the process of learning something already known by other scholars.

The origin of legal protection of intellectual property is traced to Renaissance Italy. Disregarding instances that in the author's view may involve "importation franchises" not disclosing the requisite originality or inventiveness, he finds that the world's earliest true patent of invention was granted by the republic of Florence on June 19, 1421, to Filippo Brunelleschi, the architect, for a method of loading merchandise on ships on the Arno River. In Venice on March 19, 1474, a general system was established protecting the rights of "every person who shall build any new and ingenious device . . . not previously made in our Commonwealth." In England an Italian, Aconcio, applied in 1558 for a patent issued on September 7, 1565, for a dredging device. The foundation of the present English patent system was the basic statute of monopolies enacted in 1624. The rights of inventors were thus recognized as a legitimate exception to the general prohibition of monopolies as odious restrictions upon trade. Copyright likewise originated in Venice on September 1, 1486, and was definitively recognized in England in 1710.

In the American colonial period the first patent was issued in Massachusetts on June 2, 1641, for a method of producing salt. That colony also adopted the first colonial copyright law on May 15, 1672. The first general patent system in America was created by the South Carolina law of March 26, 1784. After independence but before the Constitution, many states adopted copyright laws, as urged by the Continental Congress on May 2, 1783, under the influence of the natural law doctrine that, as expressed in the Massachusetts law of March 17, 1783, security of the fruits of their study and industry "is one of the natural Rights of all Men, there being no Property more peculiarly a Man's own than that which is pro-

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duced by the Labour of his Mind." James Madison was concerned in the adoption of similar legislation in Virginia on January 7, 1786. It was therefore natural that in the Constitutional Convention Madison should make the proposal that appeared in the first article of the Constitution, following which Congress passed a patent law signed by George Washington on April 10, 1790, and a copyright law on May 31, 1790. The South Carolina law of March 26, 1784, united both species of intellectual property in language that may have been a precedent for the provision in the Constitution. Later patent legislation was enacted in 1793, 1836, 1870, and 1952. Later copyright legislation was adopted in 1802, 1831, 1846, 1865, 1870, and 1909. Revision of both patent and copyright laws in the light of modern technology is now under consideration by Congress.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania EDWARD DUMBAULD

MEDICAL LICENSING IN AMERICA, 1650–1965. By *Richard Harrison Shryock*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 124. $5.00.)

THE author's apologies for his occasional diffuseness and interest in tangential issues reflect only the fact that he and his readers would have found it most unsatisfactory had he kept narrowly within the framework of his title. Instead the history of licensure is developed within the contexts of the development of medical education and the problems that faced, and face, the profession qua profession.

The small book deals with the American scene, enhanced by comparisons both with developments in medical licensure abroad and with developments in the legal profession in the United States.

Medical licensure reflects the major forces at work in American society, and Dr. Shryock, social historian and medical historian, makes the story clear and interesting. The sporadic attempts at licensing in the colonies reflected the frontier conditions. An early spurt of licensure occurred from 1790 to 1820, as physicians identified professional advance with national progress. From 1820 to 1850, however, restrictions on the practicing of medicine were removed, offering the historian a concrete illustration of the impact of Jacksonian democracy. Equalitarian sentiments, a dislike for privilege, objection to monopoly, and even anti-intellectualism (Shryock makes the interesting point, however, that few doctors were intellectuals), as well as medical ineffectiveness, led to the proliferation of sects and quackery, and to the repeal of restrictive legislation. Sometimes the "regular" practitioners acquiesced, in a display of acceptance of laissez faire and liberal doctrine.

Licensure in the early national period had been mainly in the hands of state boards or medical societies, or under some combination of state and organizational control. In the Jacksonian period and until about 1875, the repeal of state laws left licensing virtually in the hands of medical schools, whose mushrooming was itself a reflection of the times. But improvements in medical science, medical education, and the status of the physicians led to the revival of state boards, a process especially rapid in the first two decades of this century. Much of this of course was a reflection of the American federal system; the establishment of national specialty boards and, especially the National Board of Medical Examiners, is an obvious reflection of both centralizing tendencies in American life and the

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tenacity of states' rights. The National Board is essentially a voluntary organization deriving its energy from the colleges, but its power rests in the acceptance of its "licensing" by state boards.

There have been studies of medical licensure in particular jurisdictions, but this is the first published synthesis of the whole. It is a masterful work that displays a catholicity of interest, wide knowledge, thorough scholarship, and sound judgment. Except that it might be noted that Shryock's chronology does not stay firm, there is little room for criticism. One caveat might be entered, however. The juxtaposition of the American Medical Association's interest in quackery and the passage of the 1961 drug act should not leave the impression that the AMA consistently favored that legislation, lest the repose of Senator Kefauver be disturbed.

Rutgers University DAVID L. COWEN

CHARITY AND CORRECTION IN NEW JERSEY: A HISTORY OF STATE WELFARE INSTITUTIONS. By *James Leiby*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 500. $17.50.)

FEW professional historians have examined the evolution of American public welfare institutions. Leiby's study is a welcome addition to the sparse literature of the field, and it is the most comprehensive history of a single state's public welfare system ever published. It is actually half a dozen books in one. Extending from the colonial era to the present, and organized topically, it covers corrections, child welfare, the handicapped, mental illness and defect, state supervision and administration, at different periods of time.

It is important to emphasize that this is not a history of social welfare in New Jersey. Although Leiby touches upon voluntary and local welfare organization, his primary concern is the development of institutions for various groups of dependents established and maintained by the state. Since state welfare institutions before the Civil War were limited largely to the insane and criminals, Leiby necessarily devotes most of the book to the years after 1866. No controlling theme emerges, either on the nature of the American welfare system or on New Jersey welfare in particular. Leiby is content to explore, in profuse detail, the personalities, theories, and interest group conflicts that determined the establishment and administration of the specialized state welfare agencies.

A theme, perhaps, does emerge from the encyclopedic data unfurled by the author. There seems to have been a generally sporadic and inefficient pattern of evolution. The historic American commitment to private and local autonomy in the welfare field until the 1930's limited the state mainly to a custodial role, one that it often performed badly for lack of resources and trained personnel. There was, furthermore, no coherent plan or policy to determine priorities; the state assumed welfare functions in a mindless fashion and in response to a variety of political and interest group pressures. Equally unfortunate, a no man's land existed in the area of direct economic assistance. Neither the federal nor the state governments assumed responsibility for direct relief before the 1930's, yet voluntary and local agencies were unable to cope with mass economic deprivations. The New Jersey experience suggests, in short, that the state accommodated a limited range of dependents, never provided services equal to the need, lacked any co-

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herent policy for determining priorities, and contributed little to ameliorating poverty through economic relief.

University of Pittsburgh ROY LUBOVE

ISAAC BACKUS AND THE AMERICAN PIETISTIC TRADITION. By *William G. McLoughlin.* [The Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1967. Pp. xii, 252. $5.00.)

IN this authoritative biography of the foremost Baptist preacher and writer in eighteenth-century New England, Professor McLoughlin sympathetically evokes Isaac Backus' evangelical, volatile, unsophisticated brand of pietism. Backus (1724–1806) was caught up by the Great Awakening as a Connecticut farm boy, and, like thousands of other New England converts, he joined the Separate movement and then shifted into the Baptist camp. He was very successful at imparting a minimum measure of cohesion and respectability to the New England Baptist Church, while preserving its enthusiastic, anti-institutional character. He traveled 67,000 miles on horseback as an itinerant preacher, delivered nearly 10,000 sermons, and wrote numerous tracts. McLoughlin thinks that Backus is best remembered as a champion of religious liberty. Before, during, and after the American Revolution he tried to persuade the New England Congregationalists to exempt Baptists from compulsory religious taxation, and he tried also to insert the principle of separation of church and state into the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780. To be sure, Backus had a very limited concept of liberty of conscience: he wanted to keep New England's compulsory public worship, the Calvinist catechism in the schools, and state enforcement of the Puritan blue laws. Yet McLoughlin argues persuasively that Backus' pietistic definition of church-state relations in a pluralistic society was closer to the mainstream of nineteenth-century American opinion than Jefferson's secular rationale for the separation of church and state. Certainly Backus has been undeservedly neglected by historians.

McLoughlin knows his subject well, and his book is full of insight and interest. Its only real fault is its excessive brevity. Isaac Backus emerges as a latter-day Roger Williams, a self-righteous polemicist in constant battle against everyone whose religious experience differed in any detail from his own variety of Calvinism, yet willing to let the Old Lights, Unitarians, Universalists, Methodists, and Shakers go to hell in their own way. Compared with Williams, however, Backus had a very humdrum vision of the good society. For all the inherent energy and individualism of his credo, he had a distressingly myopic, conformist outlook, and if, as McLoughlin thinks, he helped to liberate the American common man, he did not liberate him very far.

University of Pennsylvania RICHARD S. DUNN

THE INDIAN BOUNDARY IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES, 1763–1775. By *Louis De Vorsey, Jr.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 267. $7.50.)

EVEN before the Peace of Paris ended the French threat to the interior in 1763, British officials had begun to form a scheme for separating the Indians and white

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settlers south of the Ohio. This scheme took certain form during the years afterward in the drawing of a remarkably detailed boundary line from the mouth of the Kentucky River, through the rough country of the southern Appalachians, down around the tidal line of the Florida Peninsula, and then west to the Mississippi. For more than ten years an immense amount of intricate negotiation and actual surveying attracted the attention of colonial officials, ambitious planters, and apprehensive Indians. It has now drawn the attention of a historical geographer, and his account is arresting.

Besides seeking to establish an accurate rendering on a modern map of the many segments of this boundary, Professor De Vorsey was interested in the general process involved when leaders of two cultures tried to settle upon a peaceful mode of resolving their conflicts. A passion for accuracy in topographical details is thus wedded to a reflective temperament. The British Record Office yielded an impressive quantity of relevant papers and drawings that the author added to abundant materials existing elsewhere in Great Britain and in this country.

Satisfied that we now have a carefully drawn boundary line, I became interested in the array of materials bearing upon the Indian view of his world. De Vorsey points up vividly, for example, how readily the Indian became hopelessly dependent upon trade with the European, a trade he wished to continue in spite of the fact that it seemed always to be the harbinger of land encroachment. In several cases the Indian was brought to negotiation by a threat to cut off trade. Beyond welcoming the general idea of drawing a boundary, the Indian showed an astonishing understanding of the abstract notion of geographical limits and an ability to mark out on the ground before him an excellent version of a survey line many miles long.

University of Michigan SHAW LIVERMORE, JR.

THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONTIER, 1763–1783. By *Jack M. Sosin*. [Histories of the American Frontier.] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1967. Pp. xiv, 241. Cloth $7.95, paper $2.95.)

PROFESSOR Sosin's volume on the frontier in the revolutionary period examines two important subjects, but in doing so it suffers a mild case of organizational schizophrenia. First, the author presents his work as a confrontation with Turner's thesis of the frontier's influence upon American institutions. His argument that, in social life and government, the frontier made few modifications in the forms brought from the seaboard is somewhat halfhearted and not entirely new. His case for continuity in forms is based on a wide body of literature, but the general nature of his book prevents the kind of detailed examination of local government undertaken by Sumner Powell that is necessary to prove this point conclusively.

Sosin seems to be more interested in his other subject: the role of land speculation in western expansion. He emphasizes the importance of large-scale speculators and developers in opening the West, and thereby modifies the romantic picture of the lone hunter and humble yeoman on the frontier. He provides an excellent, succinct summary of British and American land policies, the activities

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of land companies, and some of the prominent efforts to found colonies beyond the mountains.

In denying the old thesis of an East-West struggle, Sosin suggests that there were few substantial western grievances and implies that the American frontiersman was neither very individualistic and inventive nor particularly democratic. He argues these points very neatly in some places, as in his critique of Crèvecœur's description of a social and religious "melting pot" on the frontier. At times, however, he beats some very dead horses, as when he argues that the mass of men elected their "betters" to political office. He fails to confront some of the more interesting questions raised by intellectual historians, such as the relationship of the frontier experience to violence in American society.

The Revolutionary Frontier is a good synthesis of a many-faceted subject, the individual aspects of which are more definitely treated in some of the works cited in Sosin's excellent bibliography.

Cleveland State University JOHN CARY

THE FIRST EMANCIPATION: THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE NORTH. By *Arthur Zilversmit.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. x, 262. $6.95.)

NEGRO slavery and the slave trade took deep root in England's northern colonies as well as in the South. Why, then, did the North, from Pennsylvania to Vermont and New Hampshire, unlike the South, come to renounce the slave system in the years of the Revolution and after? The answer, according to this fresh study of the abolition of slavery in the North, is not found in economics but ideology. I should call it idealism.

The author has made a thorough review of the pertinent sources on slavery and abolition in the North. His work in the records of the abolition societies and the state legislatures is more thorough than anything that has been done before, and it enables him to speak with authority on the difficulties of the struggle for abolition, particularly in states with large slave populations such as New York and New Jersey. His special studies of slave prices in those states and in Pennsylvania show that the price of slaves held high to the very end and that slavery remained valuable to individual owners even if it became repugnant to the community as a whole.

To a few sensitive people, mostly Quakers, in the seventeenth century, slavery seemed evil and un-Christian. This feeling grew until by the middle of the eighteenth century the Quakers as a group had renounced the slave trade, and by the Revolution they had emancipated their slaves. By then the libertarian ideas of the times brought them many allies, and these abolitionists, old and new, eventually persuaded the people of the northern states that the personal liberty for which they had fought should be extended to Negroes as well as whites. But it took years to convince the state legislatures that property rights, for which Americans had also fought, should give way to the right of freedom of persons. Even then they granted freedom only gradually, except in Vermont and Massachusetts, to be reserved for Negroes born subsequent to the passage of the emancipation laws, and only after an apprenticeship lasting many years. Slaveholders, particularly

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the Dutch farmers in the Hudson River counties of New York and New Jersey, bitterly contested this invasion of their right to hold men as property.

Idealism finally prevailed over economic interest. But it seems certain that gradual abolition would have failed in the North as it did in the South if slaveholders had not been in a minority and slavery relatively less important to the economic and social system than it was in the plantation South. Compensation to slaveholders proved too costly to carry out in the North, and would have been out of the question in the South. Northern whites feared a large population of free Negroes, only to a somewhat lesser degree than southerners did. The victory of Christian ideals and liberal political philosophy was a narrow one.

The abolition of Negro slavery was as difficult a task as the problems of racial accommodation that we now face. Abolition did not automatically solve the problems of race, segregation, poverty, bad housing, lack of education, and smoldering resentment that existed then and that plague us today. But freedom was the first, necessary step toward solutions, and *The First Emancipation* tells in full detail the story of its slow, patient, and nonviolent achievement in the North.

Haverford College THOMAS E. DRAKE

PRESIDENTIAL VETOES, 1792–1945. By *Carlton Jackson.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1967. Pp. x, 254. $8.00.)

CARLTON Jackson has written a chronological history of presidential vetoes, presenting a paraphrase of each major veto message, a judgment of the underlying and the immediate reasons for it, a brief narrative of the congressional response, and a glance at public opinion on the controversy as reflected in the press. He has performed his task with evident craftsmanship, telling the story of the major vetoes in a clear, narrative style that gives the book continuity and readability and prevents it from being merely a compendium. The author divides his work into two parts, devoting nine chapters to the years 1792–1869, and six to the period 1869–1945. He discusses several administrations in most chapters, but allots three chapters to Andrew Jackson, two to John Tyler, and one each to James K. Polk and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The book rests on the obvious sources: the veto messages, standard biographies and articles about the Presidents, the records of congressional debate, and the newspapers most deeply involved in the veto at issue. But the accessibility of the sources should not obscure the author's difficult task of explaining the complex factors that underlay the decisions of successive Presidents to veto 1,762 bills passed by Congress between 1792 and 1945. The author has maintained impartiality in handling material frequently charged with high emotion and has given the reader a fair though abbreviated statement of the position of the contesting parties in every important veto controversy.

The presidential veto as a weapon in the struggle between the executive and legislative branches of the government has received less attention than it deserves. As the present volume shows, the vetoes of a President often bring as much definition to his policy as his calls for legislative action. A study of vetoes over many administrations provides a valuable tool to measure the responsiveness of both lawmakers and Presidents to public opinion. Jackson's book brings into

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sharper focus through the lens of the presidential veto such prolonged controversies as federal aid to internal improvements, a federally chartered bank, land grants, pensions, immigration rules, and federal spending. It also illuminates many political and constitutional questions that have arisen over the mechanics of using the veto. The book contains endnotes, a select bibliography, and a good index. Its major flaw lies in too little use of the applicable literature of political science; its major service will be to provide a handy and readable reference book on an important aspect of the national government.

Pennsylvania State University PHILIP S. KLEIN

SOCIAL REFORM IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY, 1798–1862. By *Harold D. Langley.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1967. Pp. x, 309. $8.50.)

STUDENTS of naval history have long been familiar with certain facts concerning the enlisted men who served during the early decades of the United States Navy's existence: they were likely to be recruited from the dregs of society and, in spite of regulations to the contrary, were often foreigners; they were disciplined by flogging; and one of their most cherished perquisites was the grog ration. It is also fairly common knowledge that the use of the cat-o'-nine-tails was abolished by congressional action in 1850 and that the grog ration was discontinued twelve years later.

Why these conditions prevailed and how the reforms were brought about are Langley's topics. After a brief account of the navy's history to 1862, he describes the attempts to improve the sailors' moral character and the efforts to attract better men to the service. Reformers, both within and without the navy, argued that the practice of flogging was a deterrent to recruiting and that the punishment would be unnecessary were the grog ration, which was supposed to lead men to drunkenness, abolished. Thus, the final portion of the book logically is devoted to the persistent efforts of the reformers to move the Congress to end the use of the lash and the grog ration.

Langley has performed a very useful service in showing the influence of the nineteenth-century humanitarians on naval reform and in exposing a number of myths that too long have been accepted as fact. His account is based on an impressive array of sources. Yet the informed reader will soon recognize that the book is more satisfactory as a study of one or two facets of the social reform movement than as naval history. The author's knowledge of naval technicalities leaves something to be desired, and careless errors in other matters are simply exasperating. The topical organization of the book, moreover, results in considerable repetition.

Perhaps Langley is correct in concluding that, with the abolition of the lash and grog, long steps had been taken toward making a naval career attactive to young Americans. If so, however, it was not immediately apparent, for derelicts and foreigners seem to have made up a greater proportion of the enlisted personnel of the United States Navy during the 1870's and 1880's than at any other time.

University of Alabama ROBERT ERWIN JOHNSON

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AMERICAN DISCIPLES OF MARX: FROM THE AGE OF JACKSON TO THE PROGRESSIVE ERA. By *David Herreshoff*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1967. Pp. 215. $7.95.)

Mr. Herreshoff's essay on aspects of radical thought in nineteenth-century America is spirited, incisive, and suggestive. It suffers, however, from a certain confusion or obscurity of purpose. The title promises a book about American Marxists, but the book itself includes Orestes Brownson, whose radicalism predated Marx, and omits, except for passing mention, Laurence Gronlund, who, if not a Marxist, certainly saw himself as in some sense a disciple of Marx. Internal evidence leaves the impression that the author was writing less about American Marxism than what he calls "labor radicalism"—a strain of thought not precisely defined but one that would include the men with whom he deals, though it would also include a good many people with whom he does not deal.

In any case, what emerges is a commentary on Brownson, Herman Kriege, Joseph Weydemeyer, Friedrich A. Sorge, the International in America, and Daniel De Leon, with side glances at a number of others from Emerson to Debs. In spite of this incomplete and somewhat perplexing selection of dramatis personae, Herreshoff provides many interesting and valuable insights into the predicaments of nineteenth-century American radicalism. His reading of Emerson's social thought, for example, is fresh and perceptive, though he strains a little perhaps in claiming parallels with Marx. His account of the struggle between Sections One and Twelve of the International in the 1870's is particularly lucid and convincing. He has a good eye for persisting dilemmas in the American radical experience, and he views that experience against a generally informed understanding of the evolution of European socialist thought, even if he does omit Lenin's remark to John Reed that De Leon was the only thinker to add anything to Marx.

The book is abominably proofread. Millerand's first name was Alexandre, not Étienne, and poor old Adolf Strasser at one point is given the first name of Otto—a lapse that would dismay equally the trade-unionist and the Nazi. With all its limitations and defects, however, *American Disciples of Marx* has a genuine astuteness and thoughtfulness of analysis that should attract scholars concerned with the intellectual history of American politics.

City College of New York Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

WILLIAM ANDERSON SCOTT: "NO ORDINARY MAN." By *Clifford Merrill Drury*. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1967. Pp. 352. $6.50.)

William Anderson Scott was probably the leading Presbyterian preacher and churchman of his generation (1813–1885) in early California. Yet his life was not as firmly rooted in the history of the Far West as this highly detailed biography would imply.

Professor Drury, well known for his several books on Protestant missions in the West, first became interested in Scott in 1919, when he entered San Francisco Theological Seminary. Scott had founded the seminary nearly fifty years before. But Drury did not begin work on the extremely rich source materials for a life of Scott until the 1930's.

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The work, now printed, is filiopietistic in the better sense of that word. The author documents Scott's every gesture with sympathy and understanding. It is a religious biography of the old school, half monument and half reference book on denominational history. Indefatigably the author piles up a vast amount of detail on matters often peripheral to an understanding of the man or his denominational significance: church buildings, minor presbyters, local politics, Scott's brief acquaintance with Andrew Jackson, a pipe-by-pipe description of a new church organ, and even a calculation of the number of eggs eaten by Scott's party on a tour of the Nile River in 1851.

For historians of Presbyterianism on the frontier there is some interesting information on Scott's early career in the old Southwest: he held pastorates from Nashville to New Orleans. Indeed, most of his religious career was spent not in California but in the old Southwest, in New York City, and in Europe.

For a work whose chief value will be for reference this book deserved a better index, especially since there are no footnotes and only two pages describing the extensive material examined. The book is profusely illustrated.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst MARIO S. DE PILLIS

CHANNING OF CONCORD: A LIFE OF WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING II. By *Frederick T. McGill, Jr.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 219. $7.50.)

STUDY of the minor transcendentalists drawn to Concord in the times of Emerson and Thoreau (1835–1855) is both enlightening and disillusioning. There were the other two Emerson brothers and John Thoreau, all of whom died before fulfillment, the Fuller sisters, Margaret and Ellen (Channing), Christopher Cranch, the insane Jones Very, the morbid Charles Newcomb; then there were Hedge, Ward, the magnetic Caroline Sturgis, the orphic Alcott, and the social revolutionist Ripley. One could go on and on to test the Emersonian: "Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string."

The heart of William Ellery Channing II, nephew of the great Unitarian minister and son of Dr. Walter Channing of the Harvard Medical School, vibrated for a lifetime to the iron string of a failure that was so close to success that every turn in the road promised reconciliation of a life of personal achievement with one of social irresponsibility. Probably the most gifted poet of the group, he wrote nothing memorable because of carelessness and basic flaws in the texture of his work. A lifetime friend of Emerson and Thoreau, his loyalty probably had much to do with their success; their faith in him in spite of obvious weaknesses of character, much to do with his self-indulgent failure in marriage and in art.

Mr. McGill had courage in undertaking to tell his story. His research is impeccable, his understanding far beyond the call of duty, even though not always sympathetic. This is the accurate account of an overprivileged and brilliant scion of a great family, whose failure is more revealing than the story of many a successful career, even though it should not be allowed to obscure, as it very nearly does in this book, the great importance of the transcendental movement to American intellectual history as a whole.

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The modern existentialist revolt against suppression of the individual has much to learn from the final realization of a full personality by Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman, as well as from the failures that line the road to that goal. Human nature is weak, and great efforts toward fulfillment of the individual's potential inevitably attract the weak as well as the strong. Channing came very near to that goal. His life story is that of many near great, and McGill has told it well.

University of Pennsylvania ROBERT E. SPILLER

JONES VERY: THE EFFECTIVE YEARS, 1833–1840. By *Edwin Gittleman.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 436. $12.50.)

UNDER the tutelage of the late Ralph Rusk, indefatigable dean of Emerson studies for a generation, Mr. Gittleman has given us another valuable contribution to the history of American transcendentalism. From the bottomless resources of New England archives he has brought to his account of a minor poet a great deal of unused or half-used materials. The result is the most thorough study we have of the crucial years in Jones Very's strange career. It ended in 1840, at the age of twenty-seven, though he lived on until 1880.

The first third of Gittleman's history of an intellect is dull going, and his commentaries on the poetry, throughout the study, are hopelessly old-fashioned. But beginning in 1837, when Very's lectures at the Salem and Concord lyceums establish his contacts with the Peabody sisters, Emerson, Alcott, Hawthorne, and others, Very comes alive; so does the New England mind; and, best of all, so does Gittleman. The balance of the book gives a fascinating, significant, and ingeniously constructed account of Very's year of "insanity," seen through its enormous impact on his Harvard students, and on the leading religious intellectuals and writers of the day, especially Emerson.

Very's "insanity"—an intense and of course humorless conviction that the Second Coming was in him, that he was infallible, and that a divine voice spoke through his sudden outpouring of sonnets—appalled conservatives like Dana and Ware, who saw it as an inevitable result of Emerson's recent "Divinity School Address." President Quincy quickly dismissed him from his Harvard tutorship in Greek, and the Reverend Charles Upham, an embarrassed Unitarian in Very's home town of Salem, saw to it that Very was carted off to McLean Hospital for one month (perhaps enabling Upham to get a feeling for his future study of Salem witchcraft). Hawthorne tried to avoid Very's messianic visits. The Peabody sisters vacillated and filled their letters with speculations. Alcott, Margaret Fuller, James Freeman Clarke, the Channings—each had his own complex or brutal response. Emerson suffered most, learned most, did most: he took Very in as a house guest; he encouraged and edited *Essays and Poems by Jones Very* (1839).

Was Very a saint, a genius, or a madman? Gittleman's careful and restrained documentation of how Very's contemporaries responded to this question suggests, though he might not agree, that Very's major contribution to New England culture was not his writings, but the ambiguities his life exposed.

Rutgers University WALTER E. BEZANSON

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THE PAPERS OF ULYSSES S. GRANT. Volume I, 1837–1861. Edited by *John Y. Simon.* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1967. Pp. xxxix, 458. $15.00.)

THIS impressive volume initiates the publication of the collected works of Grant under the sponsorship of the Ulysses S. Grant Association, with the support of Southern Illinois University and its press and the National Historical Publications Commission. Formed in 1962 by the state Civil War centennial commissions of Ohio, Illinois, and New York, the association made Ralph G. Newman its president, selected an editorial board headed by Allan Nevins, employed John Y. Simon as editor, and with the cooperation of Major General Ulysses S. Grant III and other members of the Grant family, gathered, as Simon reports, "photoduplicates of anything in Grant's hand, addressed to him, or containing significant information about him." It now has "material for at least a dozen volumes," to be published in five series: "(1) the prewar period (1837–1861); (2) the Civil War and Reconstruction (1861–1868); (3) the political years (1868–1880); (4) the last years (1880–1885); (5) additional volumes containing Grant interviews and an annotated edition of the *Memoirs*."

Documents on Grant's early life are scarce, and the present volume completes the first series. Beginning at West Point, it moves through the Mexican War and the lean years of peacetime army and civilian life to the eve of the Civil War. "At least 80 per cent of the text has never before been printed and most has been unavailable in any form," writes Simon. The editing is clear, informative, and unpedantic. Significant Grant documents are printed in full, chronologically; others are calendared at the back of the volume. Most of the Grant letters are to Julia Dent Grant, who crossed out certain passages involving anti-Mexican remarks and, to quote Simon, "minor personal matters." Simon states that Mrs. Grant's deletions are not extensive and that "it is the wish of her descendants that this material remain unprinted." Inserted superior figures mark these omissions, and the number of deleted words or lines is noted. It is to be hoped that Mrs. Grant's descendants will reconsider this policy.

Originals are lacking for some half dozen of Grant's Mexican War letters that were published in the *Midland Monthly* of 1897 in a series of articles, "Grant's Life in the West . . . ," by John W. Emerson. Faultless in spelling, flowery in style, these letters seem unlike Grant. If he wrote them, did someone else revise them? Lloyd Lewis quotes from them very circumspectly in his *Captain Sam Grant.* Perhaps an editorial note is needed on this question.

The documents in this volume do not materially alter the Lewis portrait, and they are silent on the question of Grant's drinking. But historians will welcome them as indispensable to the full Grant story, will approve the intelligent editing, will profit from the two prefaces by Bruce Catton and Nevins, respectively, will appreciate the handsome illustrations and format, and will say "well begun" to all concerned with this fine project.

University of California, Riverside HAL BRIDGES

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THE DIARY OF JAMES A. GARFIELD. Volume I, 1848–1871; Volume II, 1872–1874. Edited with an introduction by *Harry James Brown* and *Frederick D. Williams*. ([East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1967. Pp. lxx, 496; 450. $30.00 the set.)

THE first two volumes of Garfield's *Diary* are a major source for American historians. They not only reveal the thoughts and acts of an important political figure but also Western Reserve life in the 1850's and Washington life in the 1870's. They contain much on religion and education in the Midwest and delineate in detail the rigorous schedule of a congressman. Because of gaps, particularly during the 1860's, two Garfields emerge from the *Diary:* the man of religion and the man of politics. A passionately religious young man, Garfield was a serious, introspective, guilt-ridden zealot who doubted the morality of attending theaters and of reading novels. Ironically, the future general had pacifist learnings, and the future President abhorred politics. Garfield believed Christians "had no right to engage in politics" and should not even vote.

Garfield's views, however, were not final. To liberalize his mind, he completed his education at Williams College. There he discovered and loved Shakespeare and became concerned over the outrages in Kansas, which led him to oppose slavery extension. Already an effective teacher and a forceful Disciples of Christ preacher, Garfield took to the stump for Frémont in 1856 and in 1859 successfully ran for the Ohio senate. During the Civil War he raised and commanded the Forty-second Ohio Infantry, served at Shiloh and Chickamauga, and emerged a major general and a member of Congress.

Congressman Garfield grasped many of the postwar problems the nation faced, yet as a fundamental conservative he did little to meet them. He recognized and feared the growing power of railroads and other great corporations and hated their lobbyists, yet he also feared the Granger movement to regulate railroads because "it may be communism in disguise." He was hostile to organized labor and opposed the eight-hour movement as a "blunder" and an "unwarrantable interference with the rights of the laborers." Though he lacked conviction, he consistently voted for protective tariffs, and while he recognized that Grant did "much to show with how little personal attention the Government can be run" he unenthusiastically supported him for re-election. An unequivocal hard money man and an equivocal civil service reformer, Garfield contributed most to Congress as the hard-working, knowledgeable, efficient chairman of the Appropriations Committee.

The *Diary* reveals that Garfield was "fickle, unstable, . . . timid and hesitating" not because of cowardice, as many political friends and foes supposed, but because he indulged in self-doubt far more than the average politician. A soul-searching young man who time and again convicted himself of mistakes and sins, Garfield, despite years of political activity, never lost his youthful habit of self-examination.

In some respects the *Diary* is disappointing. Garfield was less reticent as a young man than in the 1870's when his amanuensis recorded actions far more than thoughts. The *Diary* analyzes many sermons, but evaluates few politicians. It is sparing in anecdotes and is more restrained than Garfield's correspondence.

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Nevertheless, the *Diary* is an outstanding source of political and social history, and the editors are to be commended for making the work readily available and for their excellent biographical introduction, illuminating notes, and useful index.

Pennsylvania State University ARI HOOGENBOOM

COLONEL FRANCIS W. PARKER: THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADER. By *Jack K. Campbell.* [Studies in Education.] (New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1967. Pp. vi, 283. $5.00.)

THIS biography of one of America's most controversial educators tells of Parker's experiences as teacher and supervisor in New Hampshire, Illinois, Ohio, and Massachusetts and as a teacher educator in Cook County and Chicago. It gives some attention to his childhood and includes a chapter on his Civil War participation.

Colonel Parker was progressive in most senses of the word. Well known for his support of "manual training," he advocated broader practical education than that term connotes. He favored inductive teaching and opposed any rigid curriculum organization. In the quarrel between subjects and children, he was on the side of children. He believed that the school could be effective in preparing children for life in a democracy only if it was itself democratic. He advocated financial support of public schools by the federal government.

Parker was not altogether consistent. His great cause was freedom and democracy for children, but his teachers often stood in awe of his domination. He did not endorse the Chicago Teachers Federation, and he opposed collective bargaining by teachers. He condemned the teaching of "word knowledge," but "Before dismissing students from their morning exercises at the Normal School, he would always ask them for the one great word. The children would instantly shout back, 'Responsibility!' "

Professor Campbell ably pictures the struggle that is the lot of a real educational reformer. Parker was almost always in trouble with parents, teachers, administrators, school boards, intellectual elite, labor unions, politicians, and other professional educators. Sometimes he lost; more often he won. But Campbell's judgment is that "Parker was a dominant influence only in life." Small wonder that few school administrators seem to consider effort toward genuine reform worth the cost.

Campbell is familiar with the field in which he writes and exploited a mass of original sources: Parker's few publications and unpublished manuscripts, letters, persons who knew Parker, newspapers and other periodicals, and institutional and public records. One wishes that he had told more of the actual operation of Parker's methods, had omitted some interesting but irrelevant details, and had either speculated less on others or supported his speculations better. But reading this book will prove rewarding to all who are interested in vital issues in education and in educational reform.

Duke University WILLIAM H. CARTWRIGHT

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FRANCIS MORA: LAST OF THE CATALANS. By *Francis J. Weber.* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 62. $6.00.)

In recent years three Catholic clerical historians, Maynard Geiger, John B. McGloin, and Francis J. Weber, have been at work writing various lives of the successors to California's celebrated pioneer prelate, Junípero Serra. Those clerics who followed Serra—among them Bishops Alemany, Amat, and Mora—consolidated the gains established during the province's mission period. This slight book, limited to 250 copies, focuses upon the career of Mora. As bishop of Monterey-Los Angeles after 1878, he governed a diocese more than 75,000 square miles in size. An unpretentious man of moderate abilities, his record was not as brilliant as it was unifying. Mora propped up sagging finances, helped establish a new cathedral at Los Angeles, and founded asylums and schools as well as various diocesan publications. He returned to his native Spain in 1896 and died there nine years later.

Like Alemany and Amat, Mora was a Catalonian. Weber has done a workmanlike job of research with pontifical and diocesan archival sources in order to reconstruct his story, albeit in brief format. The book ends on a unique necrological note. Only with great difficulty did the author establish the fact that Mora was buried in Spain, not California. He also discovered that it had been the bishop's wish to be buried at Los Angeles. In 1962, therefore, he succeeded in having Mora's body disinterred at Sarria and reburied at Los Angeles.

The book, regrettably, has no bibliography or index; notes are printed at the end of the book.

Occidental College Andrew Rolle

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH, 1875–1922. [East Carolina College Publications in History, Volume III.] (Greenville, N. C.: Department of History, the College. 1966. Pp. vii, 242. $2.50.)

This third publication of the history faculty of East Carolina College consists of seven essays, or articles, on the history of the South, 1875–1922. The authors and their subjects are: Lawrence F. Brewster, "Alfred Augustin Watson"; Walter T. Calhoun, "The Danville Riot and Its Repercussions on the Virginia Election of 1883"; Lala Carr Steelman, "Mary Clare de Graffenried"; Howard B. Clay, "Daniel Augustus Tompkins"; Joseph F. Steelman, "Republican Party Politics in North Carolina, 1902"; George-Anne Willard, "Charles Lee Coon"; and Henry C. Ferrell, Jr., "Prohibition, Reform, and Politics in Virginia, 1895–1916."

It would seem to me that such articles would find a better vehicle of publication in state or regional journals, that the East Carolina College history department would be making a better contribution to scholarship by devoting its series to longer monographic studies, rather than to short articles and essays. The departmental chairman, Herbert R. Paschal, is satisfied, nevertheless, that the series "has begun to fulfill those needs which first brought the publication into being." One is left to assume that "those needs" is the singular "need" for a departmental organ for publication.

University of Arkansas Walter L. Brown

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TOUGH TRIP THROUGH PARADISE, 1878–1879. By *Andrew Garcia.* Edited by *Bennett H. Stein.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1967. Pp. xviii, 446. $6.95.)

NEARLY twenty years ago Montanan Bennett Stein found several thousand pages of manuscript stored away in old dynamite boxes, wrapped in waxed paper that once contained powder, and after he had gone through those legal-sized sheets, some handwritten, some typed, he evolved the story as we now have it in book form. Although Stein did some pruning and rearranging of material, as well as supplying punctuation that made the work more readable, he preserved the flavor of Garcia's writing, grammatical mistakes and all.

Andrew Garcia, who called himself the "Squaw Kid," went to Montana from the Rio Grande country in 1876, and after a brief stint as an army packer, he agreed to go trapping with an old alcoholic known as "Beaver Tom." The pair headed north from Bozeman, into the Judith Gap country, where they separated after a number of disagreements arising out of Tom's propensity to drink up all their stock in trade. Having discovered that trapping was a poor thing in central Montana, Garcia concentrated his efforts on trading, mostly with the Pend d'Oreilles, and sometimes with the Blackfeet, although the Pend d'Oreilles voiced strong objections to commerce with the Blackfeet.

Most of Garcia's narrative concerns his life with the Pend d'Oreilles during 1878 and 1879. It was here that he met and married "In-who-lise," a young Nez Percé girl who had survived the march through Montana with her people, a flight that ended in defeat in the Bear Paw Mountains of north central Montana. One night, after a barbecue, she recounted the long trek out of Idaho, the Battle of the Big Hole in which her father was killed and where she lost part of a tooth when one of the soldiers struck her with a rifle butt, and finally the desperate effort to reach Canada in that cold autumn of 1877. Her story has interest principally because it assigns to "White Bird" and "Looking Glass" a more important place in the events and puts Nez Percé Joseph in what was perhaps a more realistic role as one of the leaders. The story is secondhand, passed on years later by Garcia who tried to recall the details of his first wife's account since she died in 1879, and statements attributed to various Nez Percé Indians at the time of the flight rest only on memory.

Of considerable interest, and probably most significant to the historian, is Garcia's detailed portrayal of life among the Indians. In the role of "squaw man," to use his own definition, he learned much about native customs that he related in an engrossing style. In many ways the book is just an absorbing story, but interwoven into it is a wealth of useful information about the northern Plains Indians.

University of Colorado ROBERT G. ATHEARN

INSTITUTIONS IN MODERN AMERICA: INNOVATION IN STRUCTURE AND PROCESS. Edited by *Stephen E. Ambrose.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 145. $5.95.)

THE four lectures that comprise this book were given at the Johns Hopkins Center for the Study of Recent American History in the spring of 1966. The

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institutions discussed are: organized labor, by David Brody; national politics, by William E. Leuchtenburg; the large corporation, by Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.; and the military establishment, by Theodore Ropp. The general time period is from the late nineteenth century to the present. There is a thoughtful introduction by the editor, who promises somewhat more than the book delivers.

The editor says: "The retention of democracy within a society of gigantic organizations is the real American success story. How it was done is a primary concern of these essays." I was unable to relate most of the writing to this primary concern. The various subjects are treated in narrative form, which emphasizes certain aspects of "process," but tends, with some notable exceptions, to neglect innovations or changes in institutional "structure." Hence the behavior of the institutions in performing their major roles receives considerably more attention than do innovations caused by the pressures of the institutions on each other, such as the interaction of government and business or the military and government.

As narrative history the essays are excellent summaries of important developments of the last three-quarters of a century, written with much insight and some contributions to new interpretation: for example, Brody's emphasis on protection of the United Mine Workers as the basic reason for John L. Lewis taking a leading part in forming the CIO; or Chandler's discussion of the part played by World War II in diversification of products and better control of materials in large manufacturing corporations. Perhaps one should not be too critical of the upshot of the difficult task of choosing a fitting title for diverse individual essays.

University of Pennsylvania THOMAS C. COCHRAN

THE SEARCH FOR ORDER, 1877–1920. By *Robert H. Wiebe*. [The Making of America.] (New York: Hill and Wang. 1967. Pp. xiv, 333. $5.75.)

MR. Wiebe's book provides the outlines of a simple but potentially extensive conceptual framework that will have a major impact on the context of American history between 1877 and 1920. Many will recognize his views as a variation of the community-society or local-cosmopolitan typology, well known in sociology but clearly applicable to historical description. Preurban, industrial social organization, so Wiebe's argument goes, rested on community, in which the focal point was a set of face-to-face primary group relationships through which life was understood, values generated, and economic and political institutions developed. But urban, industrial society created a new set of relationships, above and beyond community, linking people over far broader geographical areas. The scope of human thought expanded, understanding of reality came through impersonal media rather than personal contact, and organized group action joined specialists over wide areas rather than only those within a limited geographical community.

Social change in modern America, Wiebe argues, involved the decline of community and the rise of society. The protest movements of the late nineteenth century, for example, were rooted in the defense of community, and the reform movements of the early twentieth century involved attempts to work out the new forms of more cosmopolitan social organization. As implied in the book's title,

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the forces of modern society eroded community, setting loose human relationships from older roots and creating an often disorderly, mobile, undirected set of social forces, while the drive to shape new social forces constituted an attempt to bring order and direction into this chaos through organization and system.

The strongest part of the work lies in the author's description of the new, more cosmopolitan human relationships that grew with urban industrialism. He provides, for example, striking illustrations of the process of rationalization on linkages among people. But most important is his description of the "new middle class" as the root of reform movements in the early twentieth century. Convincingly he argues that this source was not the "old middle class," the independent proprietor of the past, but the new group of professionals and organizational representatives who were constructing new systems, ordering life with large, rather than parochial, perspectives, and seeking to manipulate factors beyond community. In this context, reform was not the irrational expression of an attempt to regain a lost status, but a conscious and reasoned effort to shape institutions according to the values of the new social order.

Wiebe has difficulty with the ethnocultural components of community, which generate one form of expression of defense; he stresses only the evangelical Protestant values of community and the links between these and agrarian protest. Yet the small community of the German and the Irish, of the Catholic and the Lutheran, highly antievangelical, intensely antiprohibitionist, and anti-Sabbatarian were as much an expression of the values of the small community as were those in the evangelical Protestant tradition. The ethnocultural conflicts of the last three decades of the nineteenth century were, in fact, conflicts between two sets of tradition-oriented systems of value, each rooted in the personal relationships of community. Moreover, he misses entirely the powerful force of community within the city, the decentralization of urban life in the last half of the nineteenth century into an ever-increasing number of subunits, each with relatively autonomous institutions and each with a separate political voice in urban government. These prevailed until the reform movements of the twentieth century.

Wiebe's argument is often only partially developed, often tentative and incomplete. Facts covered in conventional treatments are artificially squeezed into the pages of the book, often quite removed from the general argument, and give rise to a disjoined flow of thought. The writing is, moreover, often kaleidoscopic and impressionistic rather than systematic. Despite all this, the outlines of the major argument come through clearly, to provide one of the freshest forms of conceptual reorientation to appear on the modern American history scene in many years.

University of Pittsburgh SAMUEL P. HAYS

RAILROAD LABOR DISPUTES: THE BEGINNINGS OF FEDERAL STRIKE POLICY. By *Gerald G. Eggert.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 313. $6.95.)

BEFORE 1878 the federal government had no policy for dealing with strikes. Economic matters of this kind were considered none of Uncle Sam's business.

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The railroad strikes of that year, and others that followed, affected the public interest so seriously that federal power was called upon to suppress them. The culmination of this period was the Pullman strike of 1894 and its aftermath. Eggert has written a full and scholarly history of these conflicts and the government's reactions. His presentation seems generally objective and impartial.

The best-known acts of the federal executive, the use of the army to surpress disorders accompanying strikes by Hayes in 1877 and by Cleveland in 1894, were part of the two strikes that Eggert equates with more recent national emergency strikes. He has added some new details. He feels that these *ad hoc* measures adopted in the heat of crises strengthened employers and weakened labor, and that others, which he suggests, should have been adopted to restore the balance. New information is provided concerning the efforts of post-office officials to keep the mails moving during strikes and concerning the reasons why Chairman Cooley of the Interstate Commerce Commission failed in his effort to have the commission investigate the Burlington strike.

Throughout this period the federal judiciary played the most continuous and active part in devising means of suppressing railroad strikes, its decisions in effect making new labor law. The most significant outcome was the development of the modern labor injunction. When the Pullman strike began, precedents had been set for almost everything in the famous blanket injunctions issued in that strike. Eggert's detailed treatment of this and other legal and constitutional matters connected with these strikes is comprehensive and very competently done.

The legislative branch of the government did least, usually confining itself to oratory during a crisis and inaction when the crisis had passed. The principal exceptions were the two Arbitration Acts of 1888 and 1898.

By 1898 precedents had been set for preventing or suppressing strikes by injunctions, backed by federal force if needed. Congress had accepted voluntary arbitration for peaceful settlement of labor disputes, but its legislation produced no arbitration before 1906. At least the beginning of a federal strike policy had been made, however.

This book can be read profitably by anyone interested in the subject.

Ithaca, New York DONALD L. MCMURRY

PULLMAN: AN EXPERIMENT IN INDUSTRIAL ORDER AND COMMUNITY PLANNING, 1880–1930. By *Stanley Buder*. [The Urban Life in America Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 263. $7.50.)

STANLEY Buder's book is many things, most of them excellent. It includes the best biographical sketch of George M. Pullman (1831–1897) in print and an encapsulated company history of Pullman's business enterprises. And, in seventy-five deft pages, it summarizes the context and the conduct of the Pullman strike. These topics, however, are ancillary to the author's major interest: the life cycle of a model town, "from its conception to its transformation into an ordinary urban neighborhood."

Pullman, Illinois, was also many things. It was the most elaborate attempt

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ever made by an American businessman to centralize, motivate, and control his work force. It was George M. Pullman's response to social disintegration and moral decay, yet it was an $8,000,000 investment that he expected to pay a 6 per cent per annum return. It was also a notable, if not lasting, experiment in urban planning.

Buder's best writing and analysis are devoted to the value system that Pullman sought to express in his town and to engender in his workers; to the planning process and physical appearance of the town; to the social characteristics of workers and residents; and to Pullman's gradual loss of "community identity." The watershed in the life of Pullman and in the image of his town, of course, was the strike. The author summarizes quite well the proximate causes: an organization grown too large for personal supervision by top management and a lack of managerial sureness at lower levels; a complex system of piecework and inplant transfer pricing that often discriminated among workers by factors other than skill or performance; layoffs and wage reductions in response to declining orders, with a refusal to reduce rents or costs of living in the town; and Pullman's conviction that management, not unions, had his employees' best interests at heart.

Following the strike, public criticism and internal dissent eroded the town's original concept and destroyed the credibility of George Pullman's previously humanitarian image; neither was ever the same again. The suburban expansion of Chicago interdicted and then subsumed the town. This fascinating story of lingering urban death is well told.

Buder is surer with his urban than with his industrial history. Space was certainly a constraint, but some additional paragraphs would have made an excellent book better still. Reference to the works of Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Joseph A. Litterer, and Stanley Lebergott would have improved the author's grasp of nineteenth-century norms concerning management, wage rates, employment levels, and living costs and would have set his Pullman data off to better advantage.

These are minor points, however. It is to be hoped that Buder may now extend his considerable contributions by synthesizing them with the work of Constance M. Green on Holyoke, Vera Shlakman on Chicopee, Blake McKelvey on Rochester, Margaret T. Parker on Lowell, and Donald B. Cole on Lawrence. The time seems ripe for a comparative study of those industrial towns that just grew and those that were planned.

Harvard University JAMES P. BAUGHMAN

MONTAGUE OF VIRGINIA: THE MAKING OF A SOUTHERN PROGRESSIVE. By *William Larsen*. [Southern Biography Series.] ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 314. $7.50.)

MONTAGUE'S public career spans the half century preceding his death in 1937. During these years he held local, state, and national office and represented the United States at numerous international legal and parliamentary conferences. Mr. Larsen chooses to emphasize Montague's role as governor of Virginia, 1902–1906. In chronicling the rise of Montague to the highest office in the state and the decade of national prominence that followed, the author has produced a

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well-balanced narrative that is exhaustively researched and provides a detailed history of Virginia politics from the 1880's to World War I.

While this is hardly a by-product, the primary aim of the author is to deal with the phenomenon of southern progressivism. Larsen's *Montague* now takes its place with Grantham's *Hoke Smith,* Cotner's *Hogg,* and Orr's *Aycock* in the slowly growing literature on the progressive movement in the South.

Measured in terms of immediate achievement, the "progressive" record of Montague is, as Larsen clearly perceives, pathetically meager. Yet when one considers the protean nature of progressivism, and about the only thing we all agree on is the rough chronology of the movement, it would seem unwise to deny Montague that label. Indeed, the paucity of accomplishment has been pointed up in the case of far more famous progressives than Montague. Larsen makes a sound case for his subject, in terms of ideology and aspiration, which fits the "progressive profile."

The dominant theme that runs through Montague's public life and is perceptively dealt with by his biographer is frustration. Ever since C. Vann Woodward called our attention to the existence of a southern progressive movement, we have been aware that it was "Progressivism with a difference." Woodward called it "Progressivism for White Only." Certainly this cannot be denied, but it is insufficient to explain the difference. One very real value of Larsen's study is his close examinations of the reasons for the brief season and meager results of Virginia progressivism. Giving due weight to Montague's lack of organizing ability, the virulence of the machine he opposed, and the very considerable apathy of the Virginia electorate, there remains a residue. In simplest terms this represented the very long way that Virginia had to come just to catch up in the early years of the twentieth century. His close investigation of conditions in Virginia makes it possible to understand how such elementary problems as good roads and good schools could absorb so much of the energy of the progressive fight, limit greatly its achievement, and even bring defeat while the vastly more prosperous areas of the nation engaged in far more sophisticated social experiment.

Tulane University W. Burlie Brown

SPEARHEADS FOR REFORM: THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS AND THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT, 1890–1914. By *Allen F. Davis.* [The Urban Life in America Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 322. $7.50.)

This substantial contribution is well organized and clearly written. It rests upon a decade's research into the voluminous publications of the settlement movement and into more than a score of manuscript collections, some located and saved by Professor Davis. He believes that historians have neglected his subject, but it has received more attention than other aspects of the history of social welfare for the very reason that drew him to it: its relation to political agitations. The general connections are that the settlers promoted activities for social reform that others would take up later and that many residents became famous spokesmen and workers for social justice.

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Davis is well informed about current historiography and relates his findings to its concerns. Specialized scholars who may find here food for thought and leads for research include historians of urban life, education, housing, planning, immigration, Negro affairs, labor, municipal politics and reform, and even art and mass culture. The main theme is how events led the settlers from neighborhood service to politics, and how their political frustrations at the ward level led them to engage in city-wide and finally national contests. There are instructive chapters on each of these phases; it is curious that the connection with state politics receives no emphasis. An epilogue describes the decline of the reform spirit during World War I and the 1920's.

A sturdy foe of "sweeping generalizations," Davis finds that the settlers, at least, were not so paternalistic, opposed to organized labor, hostile to the city, or "reform Darwinist" as some have described the progressives; nor were they simply products of a status revolution. He himself carefully qualifies his claims for the leadership and effectiveness of his protagonists. And yet his focus on politics, as distinct from "an internal analysis" of the movement, introduces a bias in his interpretation. He omits much that is really comic and sad in the story: the pathos of those idealists who, in the effort to reconstruct the neighborhood, stood boldly on its quicksand, made headlines for a time, then lost their audience in a struggle to discover a foothold in unromantically modest services. It is ironic, in view of the frustrations he records, that Davis seems to find their "crusading zeal" more admirable than their quest for technical competence; unfortunately, this good book may reinforce the notion that the most worthy avatars of the heritage of social work are auxiliaries of partisan politics.

University of California, Berkeley JAMES LEIBY

TRINITY AND DUKE, 1892–1924: FOUNDATIONS OF DUKE UNIVERSITY. By *Earl W. Porter.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 274. $7.50.)

Trinity and Duke, 1892–1924, presents a typical segment in the history of American colleges in a very forceful fashion. Feeling no obligation to include all the minutiae of student statistics, curricular details, or organizational changes, or to load his narrative with human-interest stories or swatches of collegiate color, Earl W. Porter has concerned himself with the big questions. He has tried, with marked success, to show what Trinity College meant and what it passed on by way of heritage to Duke University.

The modest beginnings that trace through Brown's Schoolhouse, Union Institute, and the Normal College to Trinity are barely suggested. The narrative really begins with the days of President Crowell, 1887–1892, where the basic elements of the college's later concerns already appear. When the age of Old Trinity ends and the seat of the institution is moved to Durham, the stage is set. A church-related college, never embarrassed by overwhelming largess from the church, strives to hold the church's esteem and at the same time to maintain its independence; tries to retain and cultivate the interest and support of the Durham constituency and yet to speak its message in its own way; struggles in spite of its poverty and meager resources to achieve and maintain academic integrity; and,

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finally, educates a favorably inclined family, rapidly achieving great wealth, to continue and increase its benefactions until they produce a princely endowment.

The celebrated Bassett affair, so fully discussed and thoroughly documented, was not only significant for Trinity; it affords a major case history in the whole struggle for academic freedom in the American college. John Spencer Bassett was one of Trinity's own men. On the faculty his thorough training and passion for scholarly research made him something of a symbol of academic excellence. When his fearlessness in espousing liberal causes through his speeches and his writings, particularly in the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* brought him into conflict with staid conservatism in the church and throughout the state, he eventually found himself face to face with Josephus Daniels of the Raleigh *News and Observer* as his most vocal antagonist. Bassett's support by the trustees in their refusal to accept his proffered resignation "permitted the erection of a platform upon which all might stand." Porter's analysis of the victory points out objectively the manifold and, in places, almost contradictory conditions that made a favorable outcome possible.

The account of the relations between Trinity's presidents and the Dukes will make many college presidents envious; few have had so pleasurable and profitable an experience. There could be no room for resentment when the college became a university and its name became Duke. Porter has written an eloquent and factual appraisal of Trinity's heritage to the university that is a substantial and scholarly contribution to the history of higher education in this country.

George Washington University ELMER LOUIS KAYSER

THE HISTORY OF THE LABORATORY SCHOOLS, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, 1896–1965. By *Ida B. DePencier.* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1967. Pp. 207. $4.95.)

AMONG the many campus schools established on the initiative of university departments of education, none has been more famous than the elementary and secondary schools at the University of Chicago. John Dewey founded the University Elementary School in 1896 to demonstrate how his reform ideas could be put into practice; in 1901 he became the first director of the University High School, an amalgam of existing private schools less concerned with promoting reform than with supplying students to the university. The "Dewey years" at Chicago have been studied extensively by recent historians, and a full description of the elementary school was provided in 1936 by two former teachers. Mrs. DePencier's volume, however, is the first attempt to study the whole development of the laboratory schools, particularly in the years after 1904 when Dewey left for New York.

Her book is a gentle and generous celebration of the schools' considerable achievements over the years, and it should find a responsive audience among parents and alumni. As history it is, unfortunately, not successful. The author taught in the elementary laboratory school for thirty-three years, and she is more interested in recounting interesting incidents in the life of the schools than in reflecting on the meaning of the significant data she often presents.

The most useful chapters are the earlier ones, which show how the schools

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were affected by different conceptions of both education and the function of campus schools held by several powerful figures in their history. Dewey used the elementary school to see what happened when a particular approach to education was embodied in a real school. He hired teachers who were dedicated to his principles, but gave them considerable freedom to experiment with different ways to effect those principles. Under Charles H. Judd, who went to Chicago in 1909 as director of the laboratory schools and head of the department of education, the schools became less a working example of what progressive education might mean and more a convenient setting for the experimentation and testing that marked Judd's effort to create a genuine science of education. Judd's successor as director of the schools, Henry Clinton Morrison, enlarged the creed of science and efficiency to embrace not only a method of educational inquiry but a system of teaching as well. He invented and institutionalized the "unit" system of instruction that broke subjects up into small parts; teachers then helped pupils achieve "mastery" over each unit by a series of formal pedagogical steps reminiscent of Herbart. The schools' more recent history does not reveal similarly coherent themes such as these; the most significant development appears to have been the gradual absorption of the schools into the university system of education, as both recruiters of prospective college students and as a service to faculty parents.

The book's data continually raise significant questions, but they never really confront them. To what extent, for example, did the educational scientists' need for precise, measurable objectives inhibit or destroy the more messy, relaxed, but still unique style of the early Dewey school and pave the way for the orderly, efficient, and rather mechanical curriculum of Morrison? Were Dewey's ideals threatened more by the scientific wing within the education profession than by the later activity of conservative laymen? And to what can be attributed the clear loss of a sense of special purpose which, in the past three decades, made the laboratory schools not very distinguishable from other elite, private, urban schools? The absence of notes and bibliography will make it more difficult for other scholars, as they grapple with these questions, to build on this work.

Harvard Graduate School of Education ARTHUR G. POWELL

BEFORE AND AFTER: *OR* THE RELATIONS OF THE RACES AT THE SOUTH. By *Isaac DuBose Seabrook*. Edited with an introduction by *John Hammond Moore*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 157. $5.50.)

ISAAC DuBose Seabrook, an aristocratic Charlestonian down on his luck, wrote this essay on race relations in 1895 while he was earning his living as a hotel clerk. Unpublished until this edition, these reflections clearly bear the mark of both the time and circumstance of their origins. In 1895 the Tillmanites disfranchised the Negroes of South Carolina and launched the movement for rigid, universal segregation. Seabrook, reacting against the movement from the upper-class position of racial conservatism, opposed segregation on the ground that it would remove the Negro from the civilizing influence of the whites and maintained that the true policy was to elevate the blacks to the level of the whites gradually by education and economic opportunity. He also echoes, though he does

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not mention, the views that Booker T. Washington voiced in his Atlanta address of 1895, contending that the way up for the Negro lies through economic self-help rather than through political action.

While he rejects the doctrines of the extreme racists, Seabrook retains the nostalgic picture of race relations in the old regime and most of the corresponding stereotypes regarding "the character of the African race." Racial inferiorities are the root of all the trouble, and improvement is "the work of a long period of time." Seabrook dismisses the liberal program for racial justice put forward by George W. Cable as impractical. He apparently never read the demand for full Negro equality published by his fellow aristocrat Lewis H. Blair in 1889.

The Seabrook essay is ably edited by John Hammond Moore, who writes an informative introduction on the life of the author and the emergence of "Jim Crowism" in South Carolina. The editor has misread me as picturing "a bright time—a 'Camelot,'" a period of "halcyon days" following Reconstruction. But this is a common and apparently irremediable misapprehension; otherwise, his scholarship is quite unexceptionable.

Yale University C. VANN WOODWARD

THE ADMIRALS LOBBY. By *Vincent Davis*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 329. $7.50.)

IN the first chapter the author, a behavioral scientist, posed these questions: "What are the old and new factors after 1900 that resulted in changes in the naval officers' attitudes toward political activity on behalf of Navy programs?" And, "What precisely were the consequences of these factors in . . . the officers' political behaviour?" He then replied with: "One important part of the answer to these questions is the naval officers' traditional repugnance towards any form of political activity which has by no means been wholly overcome even at present. On the contrary, much of it remains, which means that in one sense this book may be viewed as a study of the tensions resulting from the interactions of the old factors that discouraged political involvement and the new factors that promote it."

The book is a comprehensive review of the political, organizational, and administrative history of the navy from 1900 to 1967. Although generally accurate, some of the author's conclusions seem colored by the need to find supporting data for his hypotheses. He has used secondary and primary sources, including many interviews with naval officers, to demonstrate his proposition that naval officers are a subculture within the broad American culture, that they are isolated, and that they have often felt alienated from civilian society.

Mr. Davis shows that the officers were slow to learn and loath to use the techniques of the lobbyist. Their best tutors, Admiral Moffett and Mr. Forrestal, taught them some of the fundamentals, while the continual battle to prevent the air force from absorbing naval aviation forced them to learn to defend their service by lobbying and by the adoption of modern public relations techniques.

Some of the author's contentions are unacceptable: that the navy was indifferent to technological advances, unprepared for war in 1941, and wedded to the doctrine that "Navies were only meant to fight other navies." A different

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study might show that naval officers were more progressive in technology than most civilians; that considering congressional niggardliness with money and authority the navy was markedly better prepared to fight than the army or most American industrial corporations; and, finally, that basic naval doctrine derived from Mahan was "to exercise control of the seas" by whatever means.

As a sociological analysis of the naval officer this book joins the growing number of volumes devoted to studies of American institutions. A broad, if somewhat repetitious, work, it is worthy of careful attention by students and serious readers, naval officers, and others in the armed services. It is a valuable contribution to scholarship and to the understanding of our widely misunderstood naval officers.

Columbia University.. BEN SCOTT CUSTER

WILLIAM C. BULLITT AND THE SOVIET UNION. By *Beatrice Farnsworth*. [Indiana University International Studies.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 244. $7.50.)

THIS is a well-researched and lucidly written account of a controversial American diplomatist who played a significant role in American-Soviet relations during the administrations of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. It is an important work that is disturbing and, to some extent, frustrating. Frustrating, no doubt, owing to the very character and personality of the subject. William Bullitt had all of the advantages and many of the qualities—exuberant, egocentric, gushy, dramatic, romantic, vindictive, quick to make decisions and quick to change them, quick to embark on crusades and quick to abandon them—that come from a wealthy, secure, and prominent American family bacgkround, but few requisites for a successful diplomatic career. And yet Bullitt was an unusually able man who could not fulfill the promise expected by both Wilson and Roosevelt.

Drawing on hitherto unavailable private papers, Dr. Farnsworth traces the stormy career of Bullitt: first exposure to diplomacy at the Peace Conference, enchantment with the Bolshevik revolution, attempts to influence Wilson's and the Allies' policies toward the Soviet Union, secret negotiation with Lenin, disenchantment with Wilson, and public denunciation of the Versailles Treaty ending the first phase of his diplomatic career.

Bullitt reappeared in 1933 as a key decision maker in Roosevelt's entourage, which brought about recognition of the Soviet Union. To FDR he seemed a good choice as first ambassador to Moscow! The description and analysis of his tour of duty there are perceptive and well drawn. Bullitt arrived in the Soviet capital full of optimism, most of it colored by his earlier experience in 1919. His attempts to establish rapport with Russian leaders, which at first seemed so easy and pleasant, soon worsened. Undaunted, Bullitt sought to "build a backfire in the Kremlin" by teaching Russian generals to play polo, giving lavish balls, and so forth. By mid-1935 Bullitt opposed the Russian leaders. To him their intransigence was a personal affront. He forsook the Soviet Union with the same crusading zeal with which he had adopted it. Having failed in Moscow, he was appointed ambassador to France; he did not

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distinguish himself there, either. Bullitt's diplomatic career ended with the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. The ambassador's warnings about Stalin's designs and policies did not fit in with FDR's optimistic belief that he could get along with "Uncle Joe." What an ironic twist!

This book not only enlightens the bizarre career of William Bullitt; it adds much to our understanding of the way FDR formulated his foreign policies.

University of Connecticut LOUIS L. GERSON

BABBITS AND BOHEMIANS: THE AMERICAN 1920s. By *Elizabeth Stevenson.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xiv, 300. $6.95.)

"'Culture' was an outlaw in the twenties, and so was 'art,'" Elizabeth Stevenson writes. "Therefore, the twenties remained adolescent." The body of her book discusses that adolescence. America was glittery and faddish, prone to evasion and illusion, energetic and egoistic, insouciant, insensitive, and irresponsible. Henry Ford was the nation's prophet, Calvin Coolidge its conscience, and the *Saturday Evening Post* its chorus. Beneath the tinsel lived coal miners, sharecroppers, and many more in a layer of poverty comfortable citizens refused to notice, and across the Atlantic a civilization continued to crumble as Americans tended their gadgets and ticker tape. Only a handful of creative men—painters like John Marin and Stuart Davis, poets like Robert Frost and William Carlos Williams, scientists like Robert Goddard and Arthur Compton—whose subterranean culture was acquiring depth and strength by the end of the decade, relieved a dismal record of failure and promised "a richer maturity" to follow.

With more than customary emphasis upon the arts, Stevenson has told a familiar story in a familiar manner. She offers a pastiche of anecdotes. Beyond what integration the term "adolescence" can provide, the book remains a scattering of episodes, vignettes, and allusions. A few of these are noteworthy: the brief, intriguing description of how the image of the flapper evolved, for example, and the discussion of a ritualistic pseudo solution as the accepted style in statesmanship. But no basic questions undergird the narrative, despite occasional hints to the contrary. Why culture was outlawed and poverty ignored; how popular values and public policy related; what drew Ford, Coolidge, and the *Saturday Evening Post* into a singular American package; why, for that matter, the rare dissenter dissented are apparently self-evident propositions. As long as the reader accepts the stereotype of the twenties as a self-contained aberration and finds immaturity a satisfactory source of understanding, he may then enjoy a pleasantly written book of impressions about "this flimsy, juvenile, and doomed age."

Northwestern University ROBERT WIEBE

AS WE SAW THE THIRTIES: ESSAYS ON SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS OF A DECADE. By *Max Shachtman et al.* Edited by *Rita James Simon.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1967. Pp. 253. $6.50.)

THIS series of lectures, originally given at the University of Illinois in 1965

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and 1966 and then entitled "Leaders of Social and Political Movements of the 1930's," was designed to give "first person, eyewitness accounts" to the generation of the 1960's. The participants were Max Shachtman, representing the "Trotskyist view"; Gerald L. K. Smith, the Huey Long movement; Granville Hicks, the writers; Norman Thomas, the Socialists; A. J. Muste, radical labor activities; Hal Draper, youth movements; Earl Browder, the Communists; and former US Senator Burton J. Wheeler. Rita James Simon contributes a brief introduction.

Although the essays offer little that is new to the specialist, they are informative, and undoubtedly each lecturer had more to offer his listeners than actually appears in print. Norman Thomas at eighty-two, for example, probably had more than enough fire to demonstrate the reason for his perennial candidacy for the presidency.

The chapters by Shachtman, Thomas, Hicks, Muste, Draper, and Browder have similar themes. All describe the continual factionalism of groups and parties of the Left and the efforts to overcome this factionalism. It would appear that the relative success of American Communism during the thirties can be explained partly by the dynamic quality of its program and partly by the party's tactics in 1934 and 1935 of promoting the popular front and in actually allying itself with the New Deal. Browder's chapter is one of the most thought-provoking and best-organized of the series. Equally significant are the contributions of Hicks and Draper. In a skillful survey Hicks discusses the effects of Communism and the depression on the writers and concludes that Faulkner, although writing the best novels of the decade, was not appreciated at the time because his themes were not considered properly social or political. Draper concludes that the student movements of the thirties received their energy from the Socialists and Communists, and that these movements were more ideological and just as activist as the student movements of the 1960's.

Perhaps least satisfactory are the chapters by Wheeler and Smith. Wheeler does little more than tell a few anecdotes about FDR. Smith sees Long as battling for good against evil, and adopts as a kind of thesis the idea that Long was no "demagogic buffoon." Few who have studied Long's career would deny him constructive accomplishments or write him off simply as a buffoon or a demagogue. Smith, however, partly refutes his own thesis by admitting that "Mr. Long's definition of practical statesmanship was: 'The ability to campaign as convincingly as a demagogue with much of the drama of a demagogue while possessing an inner self-respect dedicated to Constitutional procedures and a high regard for the national tradition.' "

Duke University RICHARD L. WATSON, JR.

POLITICHESKAIA BOR'BA V SSHA V SEREDINE 30-KH GODOV XX VEKA [The Political Struggle in the USA in the Middle of the 1930's]. By *N. V. Sivachev*. ([Moscow:] Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta. 1966. Pp. 284.)

NIKOLAI Sivachev, a young professor of American history at Moscow University, has written an honest, detailed discussion of the American political scene

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leading to the Roosevelt victory of 1936. He contends that there were three major political trends at this time: reactionary, moderate-liberal, and radical-progressive. The reactionaries included Herbert Hoover and the Liberty League and stood for "rugged individualism." The victorious moderate-liberals, such as the capitalists of the South and West, FDR, and some labor leaders, represented the wave of the future, with "state monopoly capitalism," meaning ever-growing monopolies regulated by the state in a view somewhat similar to Galbraith's new industrial state. The radical-progressives (the LaFollettes, the farmer-labor parties, and other workers) were largely beyond the established parties and pressed for more drastic reforms, many of which ultimately were enacted into law. Both major political parties were bourgeois groups, and none of the three trends threatened the established order, a role perhaps reserved for the sectarian, doctrinaire Communist party.

Sivachev's thesis is that FDR was pushed into the Second New Deal by the strikes and demonstrations of the working class. He successfully describes the reasons for the failure of a Leftist revolution to occur and the absence of a strong Left third party, but he is weaker when discussing the reasons behind the failure of various far Right-wing ideologies (especially fascism) to gain greater support in the 1930's. The author regularly and intelligently challenges both major and minor assumptions (faithfully reported) of American historiography.

The book relies heavily on works by Tugwell and Schlesinger, Jr., but also makes extensive use of other American secondary works and primary materials he gathered while an exchange student for a year at Columbia University. Sivachev is very familiar with American political life, traditions, and lore, and the book is filled with much information that the Russian reader could not possibly obtain anywhere else. It is unfortunate that only twelve hundred copies of this highly readable and informative book were published.

University of Chicago RICHARD HELLIE

AMERICAN CIVIL–MILITARY DECISIONS: A BOOK OF CASE STUDIES. Edited by *Harold Stein.* [A Twentieth Century Fund Study.] ([University:] University of Alabama Press in cooperation with the Inter-University Case Program. 1963. Pp. 705. $9.50.)

HISTORICAL case studies that are bound together in a book carry an implied warranty that they will yield the reader recognizable principles or lessons or at least a set of controlling ideas. The eleven case studies here are detailed explications of decisions, both civil and military, made in the thirty years from 1932 to 1962. But they must be read and admired for their own sakes, for each, as the editor writes, "is a self-contained whole." Moreover, they are regrettably uneven in texture because "[t]he limits of each study have been set not by the events themselves but by the author and, to some extent, the editor."

The decisions dealt with are major ones: the Far Eastern crisis of 1931–1932 and the helium controversy (both by Michael D. Reagan), the history of the

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M day plan (by Albert A. Blum), arranging for aid to Russia (by Marvin D. Bernstein and Francis L. Loewenheim), United States naval strategy and the signing of the armistice with Italy (both by Robert J. Quinlan), the occupation of Germany and offensive air strategy (both by Paul Y. Hammond), examination of the dispute over crossing the Yalu (by Martin Lichterman), the resolve to rearm Germany (by Lawrence W. Martin), and the building of bases in Spain (by Theodore J. Lowi).

Historians will find many of these essays full of new material and offering choice examples of the differences in style of the successive presidential administrations involved in them. Yet the inescapable conclusion is that to study "decision-making" is to describe a political science invention aimed at clarifying a governmental process and that although such study aims to take into account all the operative variables, it patently cannot. Nor can the written evidence contain all that is required in order to understand the making of a decision. The relative political strength of the participants, the interaction of their personalities, the scope of their persuasiveness, and even their technical knowledge are indispensable and often unassessable factors that are not usually recorded or described, and they may combine in ways that do not lead to ready conclusions as to how decisions are reached. Facing this fact is made all the more necessary by the growing number of civil-military decisions of consequence being made each year and by the need to conduct international diplomacy in the glare of public arenas, which give a deceptive appearance of being truly "open."

Columbia University HENRY F. GRAFF

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1944. Volume VI, CHINA. [Department of State Publication 8229.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1967. Pp. vi, 1206. $4.25.)

SELECTED documents bearing on Sino-American relations in 1944 were published from American archives almost twenty years ago. The Department of State in 1949 released its "China White Paper" (*United States Relations with China with Special Reference to the Period 1944–1949*), an interpretive history buttressed with items from official files. Shortly thereafter two Senate investigations—hearings on State Department loyalty and the activities of the Institute of Pacific Relations—revealed some of the substance as well as the text of a few reports written by John S. Service from Communist-controlled China. The tumult that prompted these earlier revelations is mirrored in the present volume, though the editing and compilation appear in every respect to be in accord with principles that are standard for the *Foreign Relations* series. Inserted in the record, for example, is a heated rejoinder written by John Service in 1949 to former Ambassador Patrick Hurley's alleged distortions.

The present volume fails to resolve all of the mysteries created by the earlier hasty and piecemeal publications from the record. The texts of an important dispatch from Yenan are rendered differently in the "White Paper"

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and the Senate *Hearings on State Department Loyalty Investigations;* it will evidently be necessary to go to the archives to determine the correct version. The over-all value of the volume, however, will be readily apparent to regular users of *Foreign Relations*. Not only are the activities of individual officials generously documented, but the materials also range broadly over the complex facets of Sino-American relations: the special missions of Vice-President Henry Wallace and General (later Ambassador) Hurley to Chungking; Sino-Soviet relations; China's tangled politics and flagging war effort; American aid; and a multiplicity of minor topics such as the annual American complaints about the marauding of Chinese bandits and discussions concerning China's assumption of control over the "Diplomatic Quarter" in Peking. In compiling the present volume the duplication of documents printed in the "White Paper" has been avoided. Occasionally, however, passages excised in the earlier publication have been printed. Thus, even though a play upon Anglo-Chinese differences was part of President Roosevelt's tactics in dealing with Chiang Kai-shek, it was inexpedient in 1949 to print the President's observation to Chiang that, "Churchill is old. A new British Government will give Hongkong to China and the next day China will make it a free port." The editing linking various sources is excellent.

North Carolina State University BURTON F. BEERS

THE INTELLECTUALS AND McCARTHY: THE RADICAL SPECTER. By *Michael Paul Rogin.* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1967. Pp. xi, 366. $12.50.)

IN recent years, C. Vann Woodward, Norman Pollack, David Shannon, and Nelson Polsby have chipped pieces from the framework shared by Richard Hofstadter's *The Age of Reform* and *The New American Right,* edited by Daniel Bell, with its emphasis on social tensions and particularly upon status politics as explanations of reform movements and cranky protests; its charges that the Populists were racist, nativist, and anti-Semitic; and its linking of the Populists, and less frequently the midwestern progressives, with McCarthyism. This "loosely coherent social theory" (pluralism), which connected agrarian radicalism and the "new American right," is now the subject of a penetrating book by Michael Rogin, who concludes that the theory failed to explain McCarthyism, distorted the liberal tradition, and refracted "American history through the myopia of a traumatized intelligentsia."

Pluralism expressed a "particular view of politics—one involving suspicion of the people, fear of radicalism, friendliness to established institutions. . . ." Cherishing the values of rationality and order in industrial society, the pluralists, explains Rogin, stress that *groups* permit individual self-advancement while also restraining extreme action. Without *groups,* argue the pluralists, individuals would be alienated from society, and in their frustration and isolation they would be likely to succumb to *mass movements,* that would mobilize accumulated resentment and might threaten constitutional order. In this view, *group* politics (or what Hofstadter and Seymour Lipset mean by class politics) is rational and

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produces orderly conflict. Status politics, in contrast, is *mass* politics, rooted in irrationality and threatening disorder.

In practice it is often difficult to distinguish *mass movements* from *groups,* and, as Rogin explains, pluralists sometimes use as their measure "the degree of commitment to constitutional values" and the acceptance of the social consensus. As a result, those seeking to retard industrialization as well as those seeking to end capitalism but preserve industrialism are likely to be lumped together as *mass movements* and then to be characterized (sometimes by the "logic" of theory rather than by evidence) by similarities in style, methods, demands, and constituency. *Mass movements,* for example, are more moralistic and general in their political demands while *groups* seek narrow, economic programs. In *The Age of Reform,* accordingly, Populism and progressivism were characterized as moralistic, seeking to restore vanishing values, resisting the growth of industrial society, and opposing the industrial elite. McCarthyism, too, according to the pluralists, emphasized moralistic appeals, assaulted industrial elites, and expressed anti-industrial attitudes.

In disputing the pluralist theory and its applications, Rogin concludes: moral indignation was not "peculiar to pre-New Deal reform . . . but rather an essential element of American politics in general and traditional conservatism in particular"; following Pollack, he feels Populism was democratic and not anti-industrial; McCarthy did not significantly draw upon the constituency that had supported agrarian radicalism; McCarthyism attracted some who opposed an industrial, cosmopolitan society, but they were members of the senator's elite and indicate McCarthyite roots in traditional conservatism; McCarthy had little impact at the mass level, and his influence was more the product of the cold war and the Korean War than of anti-intellectual or authoritarian attitudes.

Combining political theory and behavioral analysis to criticize pluralism and emphasize its conservative implications, *The Intellectuals and McCarthy* should significantly advance the dialogue between liberal and radical social analysts. Presumably historians will not allow such minor flaws as nearly useless appendixes on statistical analysis, occasional errors in citations, some omissions in research or in the listing of bibliography, and a few careless statements to influence their judgment of this very important and temperate book.

Stanford University BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

WARREN: THE MAN, THE COURT, THE ERA. By *John D. Weaver.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1967. Pp. 406. $7.95.)

POPULAR interest in the US Supreme Court centers around its titular head. The Court is often referred to in the name of the man who occupies the center chair, implying that the Chief Justice gives his peculiar stamp to the judicial output. Yet Charles Evans Hughes tells us that Chief Justices, being merely *primus inter pares,* gain nothing "by virtue of their headship of the Court." "The position of Chief Justice," Holmes wrote, "differs from that of other judges only on the administrative side."

These pronouncements are too sweeping. John Quincy Adams declared that,

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during John Marshall's regime, "the office of Chief Justice was more important than that of President of the United States." Chief Justice Taney spoke in 1857 for a Court that precipitated the Civil War. William Howard Taft rated the chief-justiceship above the presidency. Charles Evans Hughes, head of a Court bent on slaying the New Deal, carried judicial power to unprecedented heights, fulfilling his prediction of 1928: "If our dual system with its recognition of local authority is worth maintaining, judicial review is likely to be of increasing importance." Until 1937, the important effect, under his leadership, was to defeat the national will voiced by the President, in Congress, and at the ballot box. In 1954, Earl Warren, taking a positive view of the judicial function, stepped into a power vacuum, launching a revolution in race relations, representation, and rules of criminal procedure. Not since John Marshall has the Court been such a creative force in American politics.

Admirers and critics alike attribute this transformation to Warren. He is praised as the leader of "a revolution in the field of human rights," and blamed for "defiling our jurisprudence," for having "sinned too grandly for impeachment." Mr. Weaver, standing apart from the fray, paints a sympathetic portrait. Based on exhaustive research, including interviews and the published record, meticulously documented and engagingly written, his pages are packed with illuminating detail about the man, his family, and his varied career. It seems unlikely that the ground Weaver covers will need to be retraced. Yet his book is not completely satisfying.

My quarrel concerns what the author leaves out. One looks in vain for any systematic discussion of the forces motivating the Chief Justice. Is the Court, under his leadership, properly labeled "the Warren Court"? Why, when crucial issues come before his Court, does he choose to take positive action instead of allowing things to go on as usual? Is the Chief Justice's passionate activism on behalf of human rights any more securely anchored in the Constitution and in our tradition than was Chief Justice Taft's guardianship of property, lest the "Bolsheviki take over"? The Hughes Court's decisions (1935–1936), stalling social and economic experimentation amid economic crisis, are now recognized as indefensible and self-defeating. Is the Warren Court's continuing crusade, its concern for civil liberties, more defensible?

The author's failure to consider such matters may rest in part with the Chief Justice himself. Warren's approach is pragmatic, inspired by the gnawing conviction that the Court can and should be used to advance human needs. "The Judiciary," he observes, "is an intrinsic part of this fast-moving world, and like all of the other parts, must be properly geared and attuned to the realities of our time." Barring John Marshall, no other Chief Justice has felt his positive responsibility so keenly.

Certain justices and commentators hold that the judiciary should stand aloof. "Courts are not designed," Justice Frankfurter observed, "to be a good reflex of democratic society." Judicial activists make mistakes, as in Dred Scott. Certain scholars contend that, whether right or wrong, judges should shun politics. "Leadership in constitutional development," Carl Swisher writes, "must come through the legislative and executive branches. In the decision of cases, the Judiciary must refine, restrain and harmonize, but it cannot safely take

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over the task of leadership without the threat of disaster both for itself and for the country."

If this is the measure of judicial statesmanship, Warren's place in the roster of Chief Justices is not high. If, on the other hand, a more positive conception of the Chief Justice's role is recognized and accepted, he may rank at the top.

"I have thought for some years," United States District Court Judge Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr., writes, "that Chief Justice Warren will go down in history second only to Chief Justice Marshall. I am not referring to Chief Justice Warren's intellect, legal acumen, style, or personal ascendency, but to his insight as to the central purposes and potentialities of the society in which he functioned and his capacity to make judicial power a chief instrument for their realization."

Judge Wyzanski withholds from Warren the qualities of leadership generally accorded Marshall, and yet, because of the present incumbent's creative genius, he ranks him next to "the great Chief Justice." To challenge or support this appraisal, one needs to explore the Chief Justice's peculiar prerogatives—his role as presiding officer in open court, in the Judicial Conference, and as administrative head of the judicial system—and to probe the essentials of his constitutional jurisprudence. This task remains to be done. It is important, too. As we see it now, Warren's appointment as Chief Justice was President Eisenhower's most crucial decision.

Princeton University ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO CANADIAN HISTORY AND LITERATURE. By *Norah Story*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 935. $15.00.)

THIS book is an engaging historical and literary showcase, an "Expo" between hard covers, published fittingly enough in the year of Canada's centennial celebrations. The reader can ramble through this sprawling enterprise and savor all manner of diverting exhibits, ranging from a colorful reference in a long-forgotten poem by Rudyard Kipling to an informative capsule account of John A. Macdonald. Entertaining though such a tour may be, it betrays one of the weaknesses of the book. By mixing historical with purely literary entries, justice in some cases does not seem to have been done the former. Occasionally it means that relatively obscure littérateurs receive almost as much space (as if to justify the title of the volume) as comparatively eminent historical figures. Had some of the peripheral literary references been discarded, this sort of imbalance could easily have been avoided and room found for other forms of relevant literature. The section devoted to Indian affairs could have been enhanced by including more contributions from anthropologists and by noting Edmund Wilson's writings on the Iroquois. (His *O Canada,* an assessment of the Dominion's "culture," does, to be sure, achieve honorable mention elsewhere in the book.)

The selection and treatment of some of the entries appear questionable. For example, Laura Secord (her commercial counterpart on candy boxes in the

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United States is Fanny Farmer), who is more folklore than history, is honored with as much attention as the Statute of Westminster (1931), which is clearly more history than folklore, or at the very least a little more monumental than the alleged patriotic activities of an Upper Canadian farm girl during the War of 1812. Again, sheepskin coats, garments favored by Eastern European immigrants to the Canadian West at the turn of the century, are carefully accorded their place in the nation's annals, while M. J. Coldwell, a stalwart of the old CCF party who in recent years clothed Canadian politics with considerable respectability, is ignored.

It should also be said, however, that within limits this volume does achieve the object set for it: "to provide a single source in which anyone reading a Canadian book in English or French can find an explanation of references that would otherwise be obscure." The bicultural approach, before which every right-thinking Canadian is expected nowadays to genuflect, is commendable. So are the frequently illuminating commentaries on the major contributors to the growth of Canadian letters and historiography. Though undue emphasis seems to be placed upon early Canadiana (will it ever be possible to cut the explorers down to size?) this *Companion* should provide the student and the interested layman with a handy reference work and hours of absorbing reading. The author, who approached the project after many years spent presiding over the manuscripts section of the Public Archives of Canada, should be heartily congratulated for undertaking it.

McMaster University C. M. Johnston

NEWFOUNDLAND: ISLAND INTO PROVINCE. By *St John Chadwick*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 268. $9.50.)

Sr John Chadwick acted as an adviser to the National Convention that prepared the way for Newfoundland's shift from government by commission to provincial government. From this perspective he has attempted to write "a modern history of Newfoundland from discovery to federation" woven around a constitutional theme. Most of the volume is devoted to the events of the twentieth century. The contribution to the published history of Newfoundland lies in the final chapters concerning federation with Canada in 1949. Still, the discussion is a reflection of official documents rather than an analysis of the political forces involved, even though this "illustrative" history is intended to explain Newfoundland to natives.

Briefly, from sedentary fishery to responsible government the traditional story unfolds. Chadwick believes that Newfoundland's rejection of Confederation in the 1860's committed it "to a form of economic, financial and political autonomy which, through suffering alone, the Island eventually learnt that she could not endlessly sustain." The remainder of the book drives home this point. The usual discussion of corrupt politics, the banking crisis of 1894, the Reid railway contracts, and the mounting governmental debt all make an appearance. New economic developments followed the settlement of the French Shore question, but by the 1920's "the Island's financial core was rotting slowly . . . away." Even the lure of Labrador's wealth contributed to the financial

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calamity of the 1930's. Money poured into an expensive but unremunerative railway and an inefficient educational system as well as into badly needed social services, while new technological developments by-passed the fisheries, which were the main support of the population.

It is "overdependence" upon this "uneconomic" and "out-of-date" fishery that placed successive Newfoundland governments, including the authoritarian Commission of Government, at the mercy of adverse world economic conditions. Yet, as the author stresses, Newfoundland's politicians were improvident, and it was they who, after contracting huge debts, freely relinquished responsible government in 1934. Having learned, by 1949, the necessary lesson through suffering, most Newfoundlanders were ready to accept Confederation. In Chadwick's eyes, the anticonfederates of the Responsible Government League "represented above all merchant opinion. It was a self-protective society" Thus it was that the villain of Newfoundland's history—the merchant—was vanquished at last.

Memorial University of Newfoundland GERALD PANTING

IN DEFENSE OF NEUTRAL RIGHTS: THE UNITED STATES NAVY AND THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE IN CHILE AND PERU. By *Edward Baxter Billingsley*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 266. $6.00.)

THIS book deals with the manifold activities of the United States Navy along the coasts of Chile and Peru from 1817 to 1825, during their successful struggle for independence from Spain. Though benevolent toward the national liberation movement, the United States remained neutral throughout, and its navy served as its chief instrument for the defense of its neutral rights and the protection of its citizens' growing commerce against Spaniards and Spanish Americans alike. The navy's task was complicated by many factors, including the presence of a British naval force, as well as Spanish and patriot warships and privateers, and clashes between the United States' own civilian agents and naval officers in the area.

The unfolding of this complex situation is related by the author in a largely biographical account focused on the four successive commanders of the United States naval forces: James Biddle, John Downes, Charles G. Ridgely, and Charles Stewart. Their few but active ships defended their country's neutral rights and commerce not only on the high seas but in ports as well; helped its merchantmen with labor and materials for repairs, medical aid, and force for disciplining their crews; made a big business of carrying specie for the merchants, including John Jacob Astor, and became in effect floating banks. In addition, the commanders sometimes performed quasi-diplomatic functions. In the course of all these activities they dealt with such notables in the history of Chile and Peru as the liberators San Martín and O'Higgins and the cashiered (but later rehabilitated) British admiral, Lord Cochrane, under whom the Chilean Navy won control of these waters from Spain. In a summary we are told that the United States naval forces were not instrumental in helping the patriots gain independence, that they provoked lasting anti-Americanism,

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and that after the war they were cut back sharply on these coasts and "expanded to cover the entire eastern and central Pacific."

An exaggerated impression of the book's novelty is given by its preface; no manuscript sources outside of Washington, D.C., were consulted; and too little use was made of British sources and studies, and almost none of similar Spanish materials. On the other hand, the author has dug much new information out of the navy records in Washington, has combined this successfully with data drawn from works published in the United States and South America, and has told his story clearly, interestingly, and with the sureness of touch in naval matters that one would expect of a veteran naval officer (he retired in 1959 with the rank of rear admiral). So far as United States sources are concerned, this is likely to remain the definitive work on the subject for many years.

Madison, Wisconsin ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. By *Henry Raup Wagner* with the collaboration of *Helen Rand Parish*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. *1967*. Pp. xxv, *310*. $12.50.)

TEN years after the death of Henry Raup Wagner, perhaps his last work, on the life and writings of Bartolomé de las Casas, appears in handsome format. The initial parts of the volume are an especially warm and moving memoir of Wagner by George Hammond and what is in effect an apologia for publication of the volume by Helen Rand Parish, who served as editor and posthumous collaborator. One may question, in spite of the apologia, the publication of a work, the core of which must have been written at least fifteen years ago before some of the most important studies of Las Casas and his works were issued, most notably the work of Giménez Fernández that moves with terrifying patience and industry through Las Casas' life in ponderous and almost unreadable tomes, and the brilliant perceptive introduction by Pérez de Tudela for the five volumes of *Obras* in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. Yet on examination this new volume by Wagner deserves a very real place. It provides a short thoughtful biography in English of considerably greater depth than the saccharine one by MacNutt and is a welcome alternative to the overminute work of Giménez Fernández. Placed against the statement by Pérez de Tudela, it quickly becomes clear that the two strikingly complement each other in that Wagner concentrates upon life and writings and Pérez de Tudela upon the issues and problems that were under discussion. Wagner's volume further brings to bear badly needed close textual examination and comparison of Las Casas' writings to date them, discover the relation of drafts, and the incorporation of earlier drafts in later works. The results of this examination are embodied in an extraordinarily useful chronological and critical bibliography of the writings of Las Casas at the close of the volume. The major contribution of Wagner probably lies there.

Through his close textual reading Wagner comes to a number of conclusions, some worth noting here: He agrees thoroughly with those who ascribe the pro-Indian clauses in the New Laws of 1542–1543 in very large measure if not

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in their entirety to Fray Bartolomé and thus implicitly rejects the contrary view perhaps best propounded by José Miranda in *Vitoria y los intereses de la conquista de América.* More novel is Wagner's probably accurate view that Las Casas' period of most concentrated and effective activity came after his relinquishment of his post as bishop of Chiapas and retirement to Spain, where, being a confidant of the Spanish court, he served as an unofficial but highly effective attorney for the Indians. This was also the period of the preparation of Las Casas' most important writings in final form.

University of California, Berkeley WOODROW BORAH

DIARIO Y DERROTERO (1777–1781). By *Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi.* Edited by *Eugenio del Hoyo* and *Malcolm D. McLean.* [Publicaciones del Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey. Series: Historia, Number 5. Noticias geográficas e históricas del noreste de México, Number 2.] (Monterrey: [the Instituto.] 1967. Pp. xix, 472, 14 maps.)

FRAY Juan Agustín de Morfi (Murphy) is known to students of Mexican history as the eighteenth-century author of a work called *Viaje de indios y diario de Nuevo México,* an account of a journey from central Mexico to Coahuila in late 1777 and early 1778. Despite the title it has nothing to do with New Mexico. Other Morfi manuscripts have been mentioned from time to time in various collections, but none has been published, and the total documentary history has remained unclear. In the present work Eugenio del Hoyo and Malcolm D. McLean assemble and publish the three original "volumes" of the diary, now the property of the University of Texas, and clarify the history of the text. Whereas the *Viaje de indios* is a work of polished literary style, obviously revised, the *Diario y derrotero* is the original manuscript, with daily annotations as they were first written. It covers not simply the trek northward from Mexico City to San Antonio but also the return journey across northern Mexico and down the West Coast, to 1781. Thus much more, and more primary, material is now available on Morfi's movements and on the eighteenth-century condition of the regions through which he passed. The daily record is stark and factual, concerned chiefly with comings and goings, procurement of mules, and personal details. But it includes also a large miscellany of notices on individuals, towns, missions, terrain, weather, and the Apaches, Pimas, and other Indians with whom Morfi came into contact.

The text is extremely well edited, with consistent modernization of spelling and punctuation, but without further changes. There are about a thousand editorial notes identifying persons and places, a series of very full indexes, and fourteen maps showing details of the route.

University of Michigan CHARLES GIBSON

ESTUDO DA NOBREZA BRASILEIRA. Volume I, CADETES. By *Rui Vieira da Cunha.* [Publicações do Arquivo Nacional, First Series, Volume LIX.] (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Interiores, Arquivo Nacional. 1966. Pp. 130.)

WHEN I received a copy of this study on the privileges that certain young men in

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Brazil enjoyed in the armed services during the period of the Empire (1822–1889) because of accidents of birth or loose interpretations of the law governing the aristocracy, I doubted that this book would have any significance for our egalitarian and socialistic times. But I read it anyway, and the more I read the more I realized that the subject was not frivolous; we do not yet know enough about what Mr. Cunha calls the "ossatura" of the Brazilian Empire. For if we are unaware, as everyone is, of its "bone structure," as he properly refers to the legally and traditionally privileged classes that were necessarily committed to the maintenance of the Empire, we shall not fully understand the political and sociological realities of the only bona fide resident monarchy, in the European manner, that ever flourished on the free soil of the New World.

Cunha leads us to believe that the study of aristocratic privilege in Brazil is vital to our understanding of a period of Brazilian history, and that its appeal is not mere snobbery. Some people may confuse the second estate with coats of arms, titles, pioneer stock, genealogies, and the like, but not Cunha. He would not understand, or care about, the Mormons who trace blood lines to assure their gentile ancestors a place of refreshment beyond the grave; or the white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant Daughters of the American Revolution; or the men who descend from officers of the Continental Army and call themselves the Society of the Cincinnati; or those who identify themselves as relatives of the barons of Runnymede. The fecundity of the generations, with its relentless insistence upon making us all as naked and unprotected as the recumbent figure of Francis I on the royal sarcophagus in the Church of St. Denis, is illustrated by David Starr Jordan's observation, to suggest that even royalty becomes cheap, that literally millions of people can claim Charlemagne as their progenitor.

No, the author is interested instead in the aristocratic state of life as a corporate phenomenon. His concerns are larger and more significant, and they deal ultimately with the role of aristocracy in helping to make of imperial Brazil the viable and workable society that it was. I say "ultimately" because the important implications of his subject are only touched upon. His little book is, as he says, the first step in the gathering of material that will make it possible to put together, at a later date, a "conceptual work" on the nobility of Brazil. The study is more legal than sociological, but this is a good way to begin.

Catholic University of America MANOEL CARDOZO

VARGAS OF BRAZIL: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By *John W. F. Dulles.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 395. $8.50.)

SURPRISINGLY enough, this is the first biography of Getúlio Vargas to appear in English. Until very recently there were virtually none in Portuguese. J. W. F. Dulles, author of a useful chronicle of the Mexican Revolution, has therefore performed an important service. The scope of his study is indicated by its subtitle: *A Political Biography.* It is "political" in the narrowest sense. Relying primarily on memoir literature and extensive personal interviews with principal political actors, Dulles has written a workmanlike narrative of the intriguing career of Brazil's most important twentieth-century figure. Vargas' rise from a competent provincial politician to provisional President (1930–1934), congres-

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sionally elected President (1934–1937), dictator (1937–1945), and his final dramatic return as popularly elected President (1951–1954) is clearly told.

Perhaps conscious of the ambitious task he set himself—one that virtually no Brazilian historian has even attempted—the author has avoided analyzing the economic and social forces or the main political movements at work during the quarter century of Brazilian history so inextricably intertwined with Vargas' career. Aside from the modest "Résumé" at the end of this volume, there is almost no speculation about Vargas' personality, posing such questions, for example, as how he developed his extraordinary ability to play off groups and individuals against one another.

Dulles' biography of Vargas has appeared at the last moment appropriate for a study of this kind. A number of younger historians are now, or have recently been, at work in the unpublished documents in Brazil, including the all-important Vargas archive not consulted by Dulles, and they will soon begin to produce their monographs on special aspects of the Vargas era. Furthermore, we have recently been presented with important additions to the printed sources, especially the multivolume series by Hélio Silva that was evidently available to Dulles only in partial manuscript. In sum, Dulles has accomplished his modest but admirable purpose of providing a readable narrative of the central events in Brazilian political history from 1930 to 1954.

It is no small compliment to say that his political profile of Vargas will be revised as historians deepen our knowledge and understanding of the life and times of one of the twentieth century's most fascinating politicians.

University of Wisconsin THOMAS E. SKIDMORE

THE SANDINO AFFAIR. By *Neill Macaulay*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1967. Pp. 319. $6.95.)

FEW have better credentials as an expert on Latin American guerrillas than author Macaulay who, after fighting as one under Castro, turned to studying them as a historian. He has put his *expertise* to good account in this volume.

Sandino won the war against US intervention (1928–1933) although he lost many engagements and his casualty rate was several times that of the enemy. His tactics were the hit-and-run attack and the *V* ambush. He seldom engaged in battle unless he enjoyed an overwhelming superiority in numbers. The principal innovation of the war was the US Marines' use of airplanes for tactical support: the first recorded dive-bombing in history took place in Nicaragua in 1927. In 1933 the last of the marines sailed away, and Sandino, more a nationalist than a reformer, came to terms with the government only to be killed by order of Somoza.

This is essentially a military history. Available sources permit the author to say much less about Sandino as social reformer than as guerrilla chief. An unlettered man who was fully occupied by the exigencies of battle, Sandino had a belief in communalism, but was not a Communist.

Macaulay briefly traces the present guerrilla tradition in the Caribbean and Central American countries back to Sandino, whose ideas influenced the Caribbean Legion of the 1940's and 1950's and were passed on to Castro in Mexico by

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Bayó. Macaulay states that Sandino's failure to destroy the National Guard gave Castro an object lesson in the need to dismantle the Batista military machine. Undoubtedly Sandino's experience was a factor, but Castro said publicly in 1959 that the overthrow of Arbenz by the Guatemalan Army had convinced him of the need to act in Cuba. Macaulay correctly assesses Sandino's image as still important; a recent press report states that Turcios Lima, the now-deceased Guatemalan guerrilla commander, regarded Sandino rather than Castro as his alter ego.

Macaulay's study is based upon thorough research in largely unused sources. He explains clearly and in detail the development and nature of Sandino's techniques. Though lacking in polish in a few places, the book is well balanced and well written.

Indiana University DAVID D. BURKS

THE VENEZUELAN DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION: A PROFILE OF THE REGIME OF RÓMULO BETANCOURT. By *Robert J. Alexander.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 345. $9.00.)

REVOLUTION in Latin America, maintains Professor Alexander, is inevitable. The basic question is that of its leadership: will it be Leftist, totalitarian, or democratic? Depending on the answer to that question would be the identity of its leader—Fidel Castro or, by implication, former President Rómulo Betancourt of Venezuela. This analysis somewhat oversimplifies the thesis of this highly useful book on recent Venezuelan politics, but the query and the answer provide the *raison d'être* for writing it in the first place.

Reviewing a book written four years previously presents elements of awkwardness. It is difficult for a reviewer to move himself back to a stance approximately simultaneous with that of the author of the book. Essentially, this volume ends with the close of Betancourt's administration. The natural, but unfair, reaction would be to view it in the light of what has happened since.

When it was written, this book presented the best factual account of the Betancourt administration and its antecedents. So far as the factual review is concerned, the verdict could still stand; interpretation and evaluation might, however, be slightly altered in the light of four years' perspective.

The author provides his stage setting rather briefly. Five short chapters deal with such matters as the country and its population, the first *Acción Democrática* administration (1945–1948), the Pérez Jiménez dictatorship, and the provisional regime following it. Most of the work is then devoted to a detailed discussion of the years of Betancourt's elected presidency: the interplay of political parties, civic liberties, economic problems and policies (including agrarian reform, industrialization, petroleum policy, and organized labor), education, and other social reforms and investments. Nothing of consequence is omitted, and the study contains a wealth of statistical material, perhaps almost too much. Two concluding chapters assess the revolution's significance.

Quite apart from a long and wide acquaintance with the whole of Latin America, Alexander based this study on a number of research visits to Venezuela, a thoroughgoing consultation of primary sources, interviews, and correspondence

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with Betancourt, and other sources of information. The most obvious omission is the complete absence of any reference to the terroristic Armed Forces of Liberation (FALN) which tried in vain to disrupt the Betancourt administration.

Alexander writes as a great, though not an entirely uncritical, admirer of the Betancourt administration. The Venezuelan study adds another to his previously published full-dress studies of Argentina, Bolivia, and Latin American Communism, among others, and helps establish him still further as one of our most knowledgeable Latin Americanists. As for Betancourt, he assuredly will fully deserve the label of being one of the greatest of Latin America's contemporary statesmen; he is well served by the tribute this volume pays him.

University of California, Santa Barbara RUSSELL H. FITZGIBBON

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★ ★ ★ ★ Association Notes ★ ★ ★ ★

The Toronto Meeting, 1967*

Retrospect and Review

Only twice since its organization in 1884 has the American Historical Association met outside the United States, both times in Toronto. The first of these meetings was in 1932; the second was the recently concluded Eighty-second Annual Meeting held at the Royal York and King Edward Hotels, December 28–30, 1967. Reporting the 1932 meeting in the *American Historical Review*, "H. E. B." wrote that to go to Toronto "was not to visit a foreign country," for the Association "numbered among its members scores of Canadians," and several noted Canadian scholars had served on its Council.[1] In 1967 Toronto was even less "a foreign country" for the members of the Association than it had been thirty-five years before. The number of Canadian members, many of them trained in the United States, had increased from "scores" to 390, and many Americans were teaching and studying in Canadian universities and colleges.

The selection of Toronto as the site for the 1967 meeting marked the observance of the one hundredth anniversary of Canadian Confederation, and the occasion provided an opportunity for joint meetings with the Canadian Historical Association as well as the other groups that customarily meet with the AHA. Although attendance did not nearly match the mammoth meeting in New York City in 1966 (which set a record), it was about one thousand higher than the San Francisco meeting the year before and strained the convention facilities of Toronto. (See Table I.) But the complicated arrangements made by James B. Conacher and his Local Arrangements Committee to provide space for housing the members of the Association and scheduling the numerous activities for the three-day meeting proved more than equal to the demands, and there were only one or two minor problems. Despite storms along the eastern seaboard that, with an outbreak of the flu, prevented many from attending the meeting, the weather in Toronto was generally fair. But the low temperatures led many to wonder whether the Association could not observe some suitable occasion south of the border in one of its future meetings.

The Program Committee was larger and more widely scattered geographically than usual in order to ensure Canadian participation in planning the meeting and representation of as many major fields as possible. Chairman of the Committee was Louis Morton; members were Selig Adler, Jackson Bailey,

* The AHA *Annual Report*, Volume I, *Proceedings*, will have a complete list of sessions.

[1] *American Historical Review*, XXXVIII (Apr. 1933), 431. "H.E.B." presumably refers to Henry E. Bourne, Managing Editor of the *Review* during that period.

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Robert F. Byrnes, Donald Kagan, Eric E. Lampard, K. A. MacKirdy, Richard M. Morse, Fritz Ringer, John C. Rule, William R. Taylor, Lawrence W. Towner, B. Wilkinson, and Perez Zagorin. A better-qualified or harder working group of scholars would have been difficult to assemble. Each made a major contribution to the program, not only in his own field but in other areas as well. Perhaps the most pleasant part of my assignment was my association with these men, and with the Local Arrangement Chairman, Professor Conacher.

The committee met four times, at different locations, to suit the convenience of the membership, first in New York during the 1966 meeting, in Washington at the AHA, in Chicago during the meeting of the Organization of American Historians, and finally in Toronto where it could inspect the meeting rooms. The presence of Mr. Conacher at these meetings proved most helpful in planning the sessions and in relating the program to the physical facilities. The Executive Secretary, Paul L. Ward, was generous in his support of the committee, and his office was always ready to provide assistance and information.

At its first meeting, the committee wrestled with the questions every Program Committee faces: Should the program be organized around a single theme? How many sessions should there be? What major sessions should be planned? How should the program be balanced with respect to fields, geographical areas, and periods? What professional problems and recent interpretations or developments needed to be discussed? The committee quickly concluded that, in view of the size of the meeting, the variety of interests represented, the number of groups meeting jointly with the Association, and the number of sessions, it would be impractical to construct a program around a single theme, except one so broad that it would have little meaning. But there were a number of historical events, in addition to the Canadian centennial, that had anniversaries in the year 1967: the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution and of US entry into World War I, the one hundredth anniversary of the purchase of Alaska, the Fenian invasion of Canada, and the establishment of the Grange. The committee felt that the meeting provided an opportunity to reappraise these events in terms of modern scholarship and decided to devote at least one session to each.

At a very early date the committee had to fix the number of sessions for the program. This decision was shaped not so much by intellectual and academic considerations as by physical factors—the number of meeting rooms available and the number of days of the meeting. But within these limitations, there were several options. The committee decided, perhaps unwisely, to opt for the maximum number of sessions in order to accommodate the widest range of interests and to offer as varied an intellectual fare as possible. Because almost half of the sessions went to groups meeting jointly with the Association, even with the maximum number of sessions the freedom of the committee to plan the program was limited. The committee was under constant pressure to add sessions. When the pressure became irresistible, Mr. Conacher was always able to find another meeting room.

The committee made every effort to develop a balanced program that would be as fairly representative of the various fields as possible and do justice to all the interests represented in the profession. An analysis was made of several previous programs, but it was no easy matter to agree on the relative weight

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that should be accorded to the different fields and periods, while allowing for emphasis on new and significant developments and special problems that deserved consideration. We finally adopted a scheme that gave approximately equal weight to American and Canadian history and to modern European history. Ancient history was assigned three sessions; the medieval period, the Renaissance, and Reformation, eight sessions; non-Western areas (including Latin America), thirteen sessions; and general and professional problems, ten sessions. (See Table I.) In reaching this decision, we were under no delusion that we had arrived at any magic figure or resolved the problem. But the scheme we adopted provided a working basis for planning the program, and we did our best to adhere to it.

Each Program Committee is enjoined by the Council of the Association to organize several major sessions of general interest, to avoid "repeaters" and institutional overrepresentation, and to limit groups meeting jointly to one session. We took these injunctions seriously and organized at least one major session for the morning and afternoon of each day, and when possible, two such sessions, one at each of the hotels. Judging from attendance figures, these sessions attracted large audiences and were well received. In the matters of "repeaters," institutional overrepresentation, and joint meetings, the committee was no more successful than its predecessors. It did keep the number of joint sessions for each group down to one, but was forced to allot to several groups a luncheon session as well. The committee, however, could see no way to avoid institutional overrepresentation or "repeaters"; it is not certain that these practices are avoidable, or even undesirable, given the nature of graduate training and the size of the larger centers of graduate instruction in the United States.

Like other committees in the past, we sought to keep the number of participants on each session to a minimum, to ensure that papers were submitted on time to the chairmen and discussants, to arrange sessions at which the papers were distributed in advance, and to innovate in other ways—with indifferent success. To leave time for discussion, we adopted rules limiting the number of papers and critics, but as often as not were unable to enforce them. We issued strict injunctions to all participants on meeting the deadlines, but reports from chairmen indicate that these injunctions had no more effect this year than in earlier years; more than one chairman reported he had received the paper the day before the session or later. None of the participants approached showed any interest in having his paper mimeographed and distributed before the session and using the session for discussion rather than reading his paper. (Unknown to me, several of the participants did this entirely on their own, with apparent success, the chairman of one of the sessions remarking that "greater interest is aroused when the . . . paper is presented as in a 'talk' or lecture.")

There were, however, several innovations this year that were well received. Rather than canvassing every department in the country for suggestions and writing directly to each "joint" organization, the committee decided to use the *AHA Newsletter* for this purpose. On the whole, this device worked well; it not only saved time and mailing expense, but produced a larger number of suggestions from individuals than would otherwise have been the case. For the first time also the program was printed in a smaller, pocket-sized edition similar in all respects, except for advertisements, to the regular program, which all mem-

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bers still received in advance. The new programs were distributed at the meeting, and almost everyone (except the advertisers) commented favorably.

In the belief that the program should include wherever possible foreign scholars of note who had a contribution to make and whom American members would wish to hear, the committee made a conscious effort to increase the number of these participants. It was clear also that the Canadian historical profession should be fully represented on the program. In these efforts, the committee did achieve some success, thanks to the wholehearted cooperation of its Canadian members and the chairmen of the individual sessions. Altogether, there were fifty-two foreign scholars on the program, forty-two of them from Canadian institutions, as compared to eight the previous year and seven the year before. (See Table I.) In addition, there were visitors from the Bulgarian and the Soviet Academies of Sciences.

The committee broke new ground in one other respect: by organizing for the first time in recent years a plenary session for the first evening of the meeting, at 8:30 p.m., as a forum for professional introspection. The only official evening function has been, traditionally, the general meeting at which the President delivers his address, and we had some real doubt about the wisdom of the decision. Much depended, of course, on the topic chosen, and it was finally decided that a discussion of the Annual Meeting itself, which the committee strongly felt was in need of a comprehensive review, was an appropriate subject for the plenary session. The evening proved to be a success, with more than three hundred in attendance and a lively discussion that lasted until about 10:30 p.m. On the basis of this experience, next year's committee may wish to organize another plenary session the first evening.

Every program encounters last-minute difficulties and changes when scheduled participants are unable, for one reason or another, to attend the meeting. Because of illness, bad weather, and, in one case, the unfortunate death of a member, it seems there were a greater number of such changes than usual. In some cases these emergencies were handled with dispatch and good judgment by the members of the session themselves; in others by the Program Committee. None of the sessions seem to have suffered greatly as a result of the substitutions—a commentary perhaps on the work of the Program Committee. For the record, those substitutions and changes known to me were as follows: Karel Hulicka for Keith D. Eagles and George F. Kennan for Robert P. Browder on the session "The Formative Period in U.S.-Soviet Relations, 1937–1941"; Richard Graham for the late George C. A. Boehrer as critic for "The Overthrow of the Brazilian Monarchy, 1889"; John Bowditch for David H. Pinkney as chairman for "Regional Revolutionary Tradition in Nineteenth-Century France"; Donald Treadgold for Otakar Odlozilik as chairman of the luncheon Conference on Slavic and East European History; William Weintraub for Donald Brittain on the session "The Enrichment of the Teaching of History through Films"; James W. Silver for Howard Zinn as chairman as well as critic for "Anti-Negro Thought in the Twentieth Century"; Henry L. Roberts for Crane Brinton as critic for "The Russian Revolution—Fiftieth Anniversary"; Raymond G. O'Connor for Charles A. Barker as chairman for "The Historian in Time of Crisis"; Arthur J. Waskow for Gunnar Myrdal on the luncheon Conference on Peace Research in History.

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Table I

Analysis of Meetings, 1965–67, 1931–32

(This analysis is largely for purposes of comparison, and the figures are approximate.)

		1967 (Toronto)	1966 (New York)	1965 (San Francisco)	1932 (Toronto)	1931 (Minneapolis)
I.	Number of Sessions	83	77	73	28	32
	Presidential Address	1			1	1
	Luncheon Sessions	10			4	5
	Dinner Sessions	1			2	2
	Evening Plenary	1				
	Regular Sessions	70			21	24
	Total	83			28	32
II.	Groups Meeting Jointly	30	29	26	7	7
	Number of Joint Sessions	35	33		9	10
III.	Breakdown by Fields					
	General and Professional	10	6	8	5	9
	U. S. and Canada	23	28	26+	8	7
	17–18th Century	3+				
	19th Century	6+				
	20th Century	10				
	European	28	27	30	8	10
	Ancient	3				
	Medieval, Renaissance, Reformation	9				
	Modern	16				
	Non-Western (including Latin American)	11	13½	11	3	3
	Cross Area	10	9		3	
IV.	Participants (Individual and Institutional)					
	Total Number of Participants (including Repeats)	338	344	335	90	94
	Number of Academic Institutions Represented	128	122	145	46	43
	Nonacademic Representation	27	28	23	16	6
	Foreign Representation	52	9	12	13	3
	Canadian	40	8	7	13	3
	Other	12	1	5		
V.	Attendance (approximate)	4,000	6,000	3,000	420	440
VI.	Distribution of Participants by Institution					
	Number contributing one participant	79	58	72	29	33
	Number contributing two participants	13	15	20	9	6
	Number contributing three participants	4	18	2	6	1
	Number contributing four participants	5	7	9		1
	Number contributing five participants	4	5	4		
	Number contributing more than five participants	14	11	10	2	2
VII.	Institutions Contributing Five or More Participants	Harvard 17 Toronto 15 Princeton 13 Yale 12 Berkeley 11 Illinois 10 Chicago 9 Rochester 8 Pennsylvania 8 Indiana 8 Columbia 7 Wisconsin 7 Johns Hopkins 6 Michigan 6 Washington 5 UCLA 5 Michigan State 5 British Columbia 5	Columbia 20 Harvard 17 Illinois 11 Wisconsin 11 Berkeley 10 Yale 10 UCLA 8 Pennsylvania 7 Rutgers 7 Chicago 7 Princeton 7 Michigan 5 Duke 5 Ohio State 5 Stanford 5 Davis 5	Berkeley 18 UCLA 14 Harvard 12 Columbia 10 Stanford 10 Washington 9 Yale 7 Indiana 7 Chicago 7 Wisconsin 6 Princeton 5 Cornell 5 Northwestern 5 New York University 5	Harvard 6 Chicago 6	Chicago 7

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Robert J. C. Butow's replacement as critic for "Origins of the Cold War in Asia" was grounded by bad weather, and there was no time to find another replacement. E. T. Williams was unable to appear for the session on "The British Commonwealth in the Twentieth Century" and rather than find a substitute at the last moment, A. P. Thornton enlarged the scope of his paper. Finally, in the session on "Urbanism in China," Mrs. Wilma Fairbank read Frederick W. Mote's paper in his absence.

In my efforts to describe the 1967 meeting in Toronto in some meaningful way, I turned to the 1932 meeting for inspiration, and perhaps guidance. The results of this comparison were not only interesting but also instructive. Thirteen of the men who read papers in 1932 subsequently became President of the Association, and two of them appeared also on the 1967 program. The 1932 meeting was held during the depths of the depression, a fact that was reflected in various ways in the program. Because of "salary cuts, failing dividends, and frozen bank deposits," attendance was expected to fall off, but to the satisfaction of the reporter, it rose to 423. Members were housed in the dormitories of the University of Toronto, a feature of the meeting, it was noted, that was not only "reminiscent of far away college days" but also "consoling to shrinking pocketbooks."[2] Total cost for the three-day meeting, including registration, meals, and room, was $12.50.

The university played host in 1932 in splendid fashion, with a banquet on the first evening at which "The roast, the pudding, and the great ram's head snuff box were brought in to the sound of the pipes and the drum." Toasts (liquid not specified) were drunk to the King, the President, the Association, and the Muse of History.[3] At a special convocation preceding the presidential address ("The Epic of Greater America") by Herbert E. Bolton, the leading Latin Americanist of the time, the university conferred on him the degree of doctor of laws, after which his former students presented him with a two-volume work prepared in his honor, *New Spain and the Anglo-American West.* Hospitality was also extended by the trustees of the Royal Ontario Museum and the Toronto Art Gallery.

By 1967 the meetings of the Association had become "big business," too large for any university campus or for any single hotel but the largest. The facilities of seven hotels had to be utilized to accommodate the Association: in addition to the two main hotels reserved for the meeting, the Local Arrangements Committee reserved rooms in various nearby hotels and placed the Professional Register in the Lord Simcoe and several groups meeting jointly with the AHA at the Westbury. Most of the activity, however, centered in the Royal York, the headquarters hotel, which, with its lobby and three mezzanine floors, provided more than adequate space for registration, exhibits, locator file (perhaps the most efficient in recent years), and enough seats for relaxed private conversations.

Registration for the 1967 meeting numbered about 3,500, with total attendance probably around 4,000, despite the cancellations on account of illness and bad weather. Meeting jointly with the Association in 1967 were thirty separate organizations, as compared to seven in 1932. Joint meetings in 1967 accounted for

[2] *Ibid.*, 431.
[3] *Ibid.*, 432.

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thirty-five sessions, more than 40 per cent of the program—a measure of the growing complexity of the Annual Meeting and the problems faced by the Program and Local Arrangements Committees. The total number of sessions (including luncheons and dinners) had grown from twenty-eight in 1932 to eighty-three in 1967. (See Table I.) As a result, it was necessary to schedule twelve instead of four simultaneous sessions each morning and each afternoon of the meeting. Scheduling these sessions in two hotels a subway stop apart to make possible maximum attendance at the least inconvenience to the members proved one of our most difficult tasks.

Because of the size of the meeting, the ceremony and entertainment that made the 1932 meeting so pleasant an occasion had to be sharply curtailed or eliminated. The province of Ontario held a reception for the Association, but had to limit invitations to officers and participants on the program, a number almost as large as the total attendance thirty-five years earlier. Formal welcome to the membership was extended at the general meeting, held jointly with the Canadian Historical Association, by J. M. S. Careless of the University of Toronto. As in 1932, the President, Hajo Holborn, was presented with a volume in his honor by friends and former students before he delivered the presidential address, "The History of Ideas."[4]

The program of the 1932 meeting reflected to some degree, as does the program of most of the meetings, the temper of the times, contemporary attitudes and interests of the profession, prevailing trends in curriculums, and the location of the meeting.[5] Thus, nine of the papers dealt with Canadian history or with a subject related to Canadian history. Concern with the economic problems of the time found expression in a number of sessions in different fields with papers on international indebtedness, investment banking, British bondholders, Populist panaceas, and a round-table discussion on the economic history of the ancient world. Unlike more recent programs, there were few sessions on recent history such as the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany, and the modern European historians apparently expressed their dissatisfaction openly. The reporter of the meeting, reflecting perhaps his views about the "New History," regarded this development with approval, noting that "our interests are now slowly moving back once more to the study of earlier problems."[6] Examples of such interest were the three sessions (including a dinner meeting) devoted to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

American history was dealt with in one way or another in seven of the twenty-eight sessions. There was a session on the colonial period, a perennial favorite; one on "Economic Crisis and Panaceas"; and papers on various topics ranging from the Northwest fur trade to the Monroe Doctrine. Two of the more interesting and timely sessions were those on "The Idea of National Interest," with papers by Charles A. Beard and Ralph H. Gabriel, and "The Frontier,"

[4] The address is published in the February 1968 issue of the *Review*. The volume presented to Professor Holborn is *The Responsibilities of Power: Historical Essays in Honor of Hajo Holborn*, edited by Leonard Krieger and Fritz Stern (New York, 1967).

[5] The 1932 meeting, coming between the years of Carl L. Becker's and Charles A. Beard's presidencies, may well have been atypical in reflecting the mood of the profession.

[6] *American Historical Review*, XXXVIII (Apr. 1933), 438. The shift away from recent history in 1932 was probably not typical, judging from other AHA meetings of the 1930's. *The Journal of Modern History* had been established in 1929.

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with a paper by Frederick L. Paxson and comment by C. H. Ambler and B. W. Wright. Turner had died earlier in the year, and he was mentioned on several occasions during the meeting. Constitutional history, which had been a strong field earlier in the century, had no place on the program; diplomatic history only one session, with papers by Samuel Flagg Bemis and Frederick Merk. Three of the sessions in 1932 were in "non-Western areas": two on Latin America (or Hispanic-America, as it was then called) and one on the Far East, a field then still in its infancy. Professional problems were discussed at four sessions, one dealing with teaching and curriculums; one with graduate training, then under review by the Association; one with archives; and one with the reproduction of research materials, made possible by the development of new film techniques for copying.

The 1967 program had sessions on most of the topics covered in 1932, but there were more of them, and the approach reflected the interests and methods of the period. What is more significant than the number of sessions devoted to similar or comparable subjects are the areas and topics that were not treated at the earlier meeting.[7] In 1932 there had been no sessions on Africa, the Middle East, South or Southeast Asia; none on urbanism, elites, modernization, science and technology, the problems of war and peace, or the application of psychological and sociological concepts and methods to history. Of the four sessions at the 1932 meetings devoted to modern Europe, almost all had dealt with one or another aspect of British history; Central and East Europe had been almost totally ignored.[8] Although Britain still maintained its lead thirty-five years later, there were six sessions on France and Italy, three on Germany and Austria, and four on Eastern Europe, including such major sessions as "The Formative Period in U.S.-Soviet Relations, 1937–1941," which drew an audience of more than two hundred; "The Rise of a Great Power: Austria in the Early Eighteenth Century"; "Social Change and Political Leadership in Nineteenth-Century Germany," with two hundred attending; and "The Russian Revolution—Fiftieth Anniversary," with an estimated audience of five hundred. Where in 1932 there had been no organization concerned with Eastern or Central Europe, there were in 1967 two such groups meeting jointly with the AHA.

The difference between the two meetings was evident not only in the areas of Europe covered, but also in the attention paid to the so-called non-Western and emerging areas of the world, encouraged and subsidized in large part by the federal government and the foundations. Latin America was almost as well represented in 1932 as in 1967, although the field has expanded greatly since the 1930's. There were four sessions on the Far East in 1967, two on the Middle East, two on South and Southwest Africa. In several of these areas the 1967 program represented a decline in the number of allotted sessions compared to the preceding years, but it seems evident that, as interest in such non-Western areas as India, Africa, and the Middle East increases, the attention devoted to them at the Annual Meetings will undoubtedly increase.

The emphasis given to American history at the 1967 meeting was about the

[7] For an account of the growth of the profession during these years, see John Higham *et al.*, *History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965), esp. 26–51, 268–87.

[8] The influx of European scholars fleeing dictatorship and racial persecution did not affect American scholarship until the mid- and late 1930's.

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same as in 1932 (between 25 and 30 per cent of the total program), but somewhat less than in the preceding meeting. The ratio between the United States and modern Europe at the two meetings, however, was quite different. In 1932 there had been twice as many sessions in American as in modern European history; in 1967 the two fields received about the same weight. Alaska was allotted one session in 1967, but did not appear at all on the earlier program. Both meetings devoted considerable attention to subjects related to Canadian history, but the emphasis at the earlier meeting was relatively greater. Five of the sessions in 1967 dealt with Canada in one way or another, but only one of these, "Canada in the Twentieth Century," was on Canadian internal history. The others compared various aspects of Canadian history (education, religion, nationalism, colonial policy) with American or British history, and there was one session that viewed Latin America from the Canadian perspective.

It was not only in the geographic areas covered or the weight given to them that the two meetings differed, but also in the approach and treatment of these areas. Political and diplomatic history still had a large following in 1932, but the interest in economic and, to a lesser extent, social problems dating from the pre-World War I period was clearly evident in the program. By 1967 interest in these problems, approached now with greater sophistication and changed methods, had increased considerably. The number of sessions in social and economic history totaled almost 20 per cent of the program, while the proportion of sessions in political and diplomatic history had declined sharply. The interest in religious problems and church history had, if anything, increased over the years, with seven sessions dealing with that subject in one way or another, as compared to one in 1932. Three of the sessions were joint meetings with organizations that were either denominational or concerned primarily with the history of religion. Two of these groups, the American Catholic Historical Association and the American Society of Church History, held their own separate meetings in Toronto, simultaneously with the AHA. Finally, the 1967 program reflected the growing interest of historians in science and technology as a field for historical research and teaching. There were altogether five sessions in this area, three arranged by the Program Committee and two by the History of Science Society and the Society for the History of Technology. Like the denominational groups, these two organizations held additional sessions of their own.

Trends in the social sciences were reflected in the treatment of almost every aspect of history in 1967, in marked contrast to the 1932 meeting. There were papers on urbanism ("The Medieval Islamic City" and "Urbanism in China"); on elites in different countries and at different periods (medieval England, Renaissance republics, nineteenth-century Germany, and Africa); and on economic development and the processes of modernization ("Economic Development, Southeast Asia and West Africa," and "Modernization in Tokugawa Japan"). The impact of social science concepts and computer technology was evident throughout the program, reflecting the interest of the historian in applying developments from other disciplines to his own, "in fusing the new method of social and psychological analysis with his traditional story-telling function."[9] A session

[9] H. Stuart Hughes, *History as Art and Science* (New York, 1964), 77, quoted in Higham *et al., History,* 138.

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on "Bibliography and Technology," reporting the work of the Joint Committee on Bibliography, dealt with the potential use of computers as an aid in the development of bibliography; the session on "Psychology and History" offered a psychiatric interpretation of Roman history; "French Methods in Historical Sociology" were described in a session on the *Sixième Section* of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études,* with a case study on the demography of the Florentine patricians; the work of French and German sociologists was dealt with in "Classical European Sociology between Community and Society"; the relationship between science and political thought was discussed in "Science and Political Ideology." In addition, there were several papers in which these methods and concepts were applied to historical problems, with interesting results.

The comparative method, so much in vogue in the social sciences, is not new to the historian. There were several such sessions in 1932, sessions that combined papers on different periods or areas, but focused on a particular problem. Interest in this approach has increased, or perhaps revived, in recent years, witnessed by the establishment of the journal *Comparative Studies in Society and History* in 1958, and there were by a conservative count at least ten such sessions at the 1967 meeting. Among them were those comparing the role of the frontier in Argentina and Australia; exploring the origins of war through a study of the Peloponnesian War, the Hundred Years' War, and World War I; relating commercial policy and national interest to world peace through a discussion of the policies of Cobden and Hull. The separation of church and state in Canada and the United States was compared and contrasted in one session; labor and politics in Britain and America in another; British colonial policy in still another.

The historian's concern with professional problems—teaching, method, interpretation, archives, and the role of the historian—is evident in both the 1932 and 1967 meetings, and undoubtedly in the meetings of the intervening years. In 1932 there were four such sessions, a paper by G. M. Wrong on "The Historian's Duty to Society," and a luncheon of the editorial staffs of historical reviews, apparently an annual affair. By 1967 the editorial staff luncheon had disappeared from the program, but in its stead was a session in which the editors of three journals and two other historians discussed "The Changing Functions of Historical Journals." There were three sessions on teaching, one on the use of films, with an exhibit, one on religion and the public schools, and one on new developments in introductory history courses that drew an interested and lively audience of about three hundred. Interest in method, interpretation, and research problems found expression in a large number of sessions, some of which have already been noted. Among the sessions of this type were those on "The Uses and Limitations of Prosopography in Roman History," "The Reinterpretation of Reconstruction," "The Future of East Central and Southeast European Studies," and "On the Value of Asian Travel." The role of the historian both as a citizen and professional was the subject of two sessions: "The Historian in Time of Crisis" dealt with the issue in general terms (but with Vietnam clearly in view); "Historians and the Law" discussed a specific problem, the Frick case, in which historians had a professional stake. Interest in archival problems, which in 1932, when the National Archives was being established, had received considerable attention, was not high in 1967. In view of the recent report of the Joint Committee on the

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Status of the National Archives, this question is likely to receive additional attention in the future.

It may come as a surprise to most historians that the program of their Annual Meetings should constitute a social document as well as a record of their activities, interests, and research. But no one can review the record of past meetings as I have done without being struck by how quickly historians react to contemporary issues and problems, how faithfully their annual programs mirror the world about them. The 1932 meeting, both in content and local arrangements, clearly reflected the economic conditions of the time; the 1967 meeting reflected to an even greater degree the concern and involvement of the historian with the foreign and domestic policies that divided the nation. In the latter there were nine sessions comprising altogether twenty papers that dealt with the problems of war and peace, and with military history—a field that had received much attention in an earlier period but had been ignored in the 1932 program. These sessions ranged in time from the fifth century B. C. ("Peacemaking in Classical Greece") to a bold projection into the future ("Peace and War: The History of the United States, 1939–1999")[10] and dealt with such diverse topics as the military policies of Islamic states between 1400 and 1700, the French and Russian Revolutions, military factors in Anglo-American relations early in the twentieth century, the entry of the United States into World War I, the cold war in Asia, and the official history of the war in Vietnam. Interest in the subject was evidenced by the large audiences these sessions drew, ranging from 250 for the World War I session to 500 for the session on "Origins of the Cold War in Asia" and 600 for "The Historian in Time of Crisis," the largest for any single session except the general meeting.

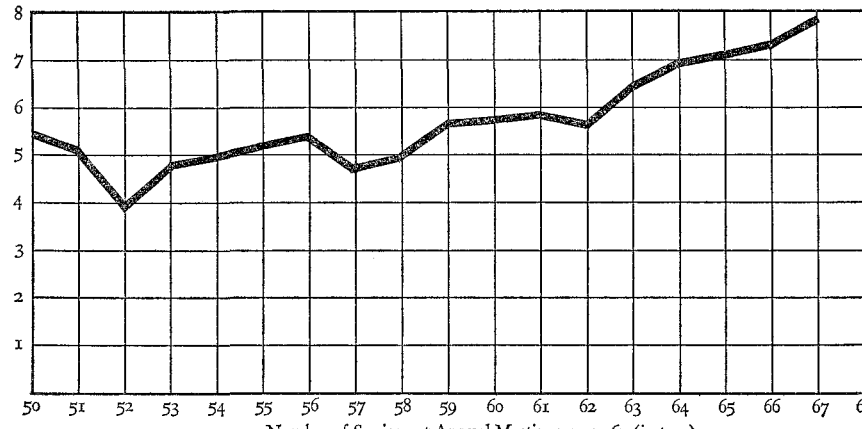
Contemporary concern with domestic problems arising from the growing complexity of urban life, the rights of Negroes and other minority groups, and the impact of technology was reflected in the program in a variety of ways, but not in so striking a manner as the issues of foreign policy. In addition to the sessions on urbanism, elites, and technology, already noted, there were several sessions on minority groups: "Anti-Negro Thought in the Twentieth Century," "Anti-Semitism in Western Europe, 1000–1500," and "The Role of Ethnic, Religious, and Minority Historical Societies in the United States." Social problems and the relationship of the individual to society were discussed in different settings in the sessions on "Nineteenth-Century Patterns of Reform in the United States"; "Changes in American Manners and Morals," which dealt with divorce and the changing role of women in American society; "The English Penal Laws: Persecution or Precaution?"; "The Child and the State," which included a paper on the Negro child; "Family and Family Solidarity in Italian History," with papers on the medieval and modern periods; and "Society and the Individual" in the medieval period and the Renaissance.

Only two prizes were awarded in 1967. One of these, the Albert B. Corey Prize, is new; it is awarded jointly by the American and Canadian Historical Associations in odd-numbered years for the best work on Canadian-US relations or on the history of both countries. It was awarded this year to Gustave Lanctot, University of Ottawa (emeritus), who had read a paper at the 1932 meeting, for

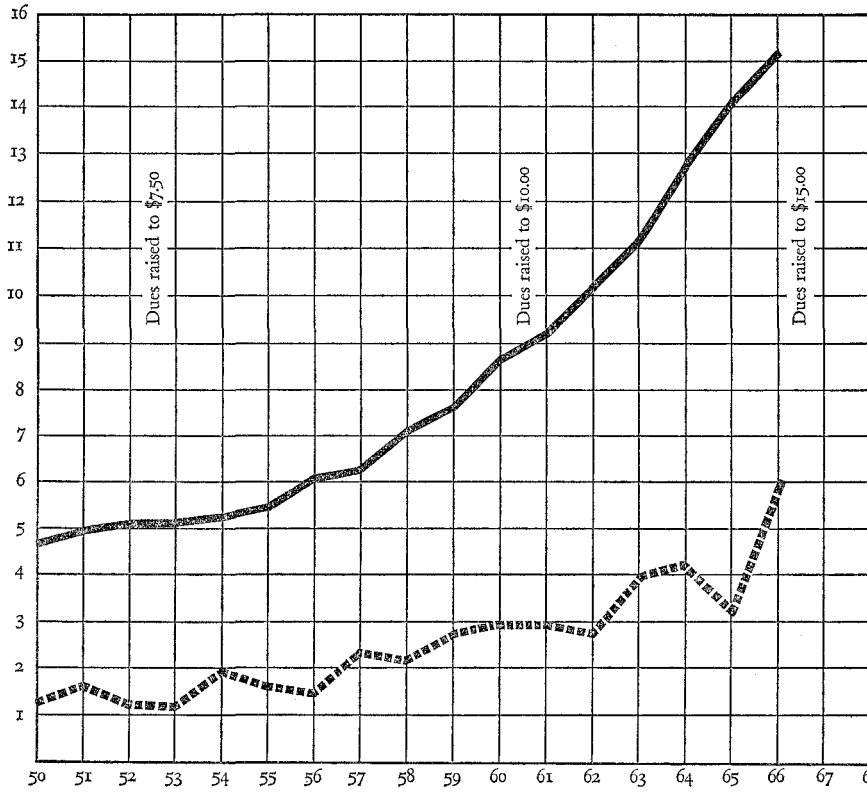
[10] Because of a change in the scheduled program, this paper was not listed.

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Table II



Number of Sessions at Annual Meetings, 1950–67 (in tens)



AHA Paid Membership, 1953–66 (in thousands)
Attendance at Annual Meetings, 1950–66 (in thousands)

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Canada and the American Revolution. The George Louis Beer Prize, awarded also in 1932, went to two men: George A. Brinkley, University of Notre Dame, for *The Volunteer Army and the Revolution in South Russia* and Robert Wohl of Stanford for *French Communism in the Making.* The terms of the Albert J. Beveridge Prize are still under study, and no award was made.

In retrospect, the two meetings in Toronto were strikingly similar in some respects and different in others. Each reflected the historian's concern with the world in which he lived, with the public issues of the time, and with his role as citizen. Each mirrored his interests, methods, and areas of research as well as his concern with professional problems: teaching, training graduate students, source materials, bibliography, and publications. The historian's view of the world in 1932, like that of most Americans of the time, was limited. The Association was still fairly small, numbering about three thousand, and the approximately four hundred members who attended the Annual Meeting could be accommodated on most college campuses. (See Table II.) By 1967 the small meeting, one historian reminisced nostalgically, had "gone the way of the four dollar hotel room and the pleasant meal in the diner going down." The horizons of the historian had been extended to include virtually all parts of the world, reflecting the world-wide interests and commitments of the United States. New fields had been opened up and new methods made possible by technological changes, and advances in the social sciences had been developed. The nature and interests of the profession had changed significantly by 1967, and its membership had increased to sixteen thousand. The Annual Meeting, reflecting these changes, had grown enormously in size, a victim of its own prosperity. Attendance had increased tenfold, the number of sessions had tripled, and there were thirty organizations meeting jointly with the Association instead of seven. Still the meetings were held during the same period of the year and for the same duration (three days) as they had been thirty-five years earlier. There is much to be said for tradition, but whether it is possible to continue the pattern of past meetings indefinitely into the future, as the Association continues to grow, is a question that can no longer be avoided.

Dartmouth College LOUIS MORTON

The Year's Business, 1967

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR 1967

This year has been more a year of laying groundworks than a year of completions for the Association's staff and committees. While many of the efforts will deserve public report only when closer to fruition, the following deserve mention as part of an overview of the year.

One happy exception was the outcome of the *Frick* v. *Stevens* case, thus concluding the work of the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment. A Friday morning session has been arranged to distill some lessons for future times of challenge from the joint committee's

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experience. The countersuit instituted in federal courts, the wide newspaper publicity, the generous response by members to the appeal for funds, and the firm language of Judge Clinton Weidner's decision last May, all these and much else have helped make the three-year ordeal by Dr. Stevens into a lesson that will deter unfounded suits at law against future historical publications.

In contrast to this task completed, I give first place to the work of the new Committee on Ph.D. Programs in History. The October *Newsletter* carried its statement of standards for such programs. By Council action last spring the committee has twelve months in which to move toward a list of approved programs in specific institutions. Its aim is to clarify appropriate standards and thereby to encourage country-wide improvement. This is a large job, deserving the best efforts of your staff.

Many specific scholarly projects have been moving ahead. At the time of this present meeting the report of last spring's meeting of the Joint Bibliographical Committee is appearing in print as a book entitled *Bibliography and the Historian,* edited by Dr. Dagmar Perman. It is hoped that within the next two months a foundation grant will allow us to commission a historian to plan and explore in detail the application of radically new bibliographical techniques to the needs of our profession.

Two other projects made possible initially by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities have been proceeding well. The Committee on Quantitative Data has held two working conferences this fall on comparative historical statistics, with Jacob Price as staff director. During the summer a team of law students, under the direction of Neal Allen, searched the colonial court records in several eastern states for cases to illustrate freedom under law.

On Labor Day a new Committee on American-East Asian Relations met for the first time to complete the formulation of a project that has subsequently been discussed with foundations. This will attempt to bring to focus the *expertise* of both American diplomatic historians and Far Eastern specialists on the complex cultural frontier existing between Americans and East Asians in recent times, a subject that has heretofore fallen between the two specialties. I am also talking to possible donors about a project for special fellowships in Greek and Roman history, and the prospects seem good.

A number of plans for federal government action have importance for historians as scholars. Congress early this year turned to the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission to formulate plans for a Center for Scholars, to be located just north of the present National Archives, as part of a memorial to Woodrow Wilson. Word is that the plans are taking shape substantially along the lines of the proposal set out in Julian Boyd's presidential address of 1965, although the focus will be less upon historians than upon the full range of disciplines exemplified in Woodrow Wilson's career. Legislation to establish this memorial can perhaps not be expected until after the elections next November.

The position of the National Archives in the federal government has been the subject of careful study by the Joint Committee on the Status of the National Archives, which was appointed a year ago. Financial assistance has generously been provided by the Council on Library Resources, to allow preparation of an adequate report, and we hope that the coming weeks will see favorable develop-

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ments. The Association, through its staff and committees, has at the same time lent support to the Senate proposal to establish a National Social Science Foundation, but, like so many other generous and important projects, this has been delayed by the stringencies arising from the current war. The long-awaited revision of the copyright law has also been the subject of AHA study and representations to the Senate; this legislation has also been held up in order to explore further the implications of new technology.

Various programs of federal aid to education have continued to absorb much of the time of our professional staff. In past weeks I have served as consultant on a major effort by the Office of Education to enlist and encourage cooperation of education faculties, arts and science faculties, and school leadership in improving teacher training at the highest level. The Consortium of Professional Associations for Special Studies of Teacher Improvement Programs, chaired this year by John Thompson as the Association's delegate, has reorganized, and it promises to be much more effective in bringing the best standards of scholars and specialists to bear on various projects of the Office of Education.

A most interesting effort to explore and clarify the usefulness of motion pictures for history teaching has developed this year out of a project launched under a small grant from the Office of Education's Bureau of Research. The Service Center, by preparing a special pamphlet and a sample new sound track for a documentary film, hopes now to point the way toward the better use of films in secondary-school teaching. A special *ad hoc* committee, acting for the Committee on University and College Teaching, is engaged in a project to create, for use as assignments in college courses, "packages" rather like books of readings, each consisting of a cartridge of selected footage from a major feature film accompanied by a selection of readings to match and balance. This project seems a promising way to make plainer the role of discipline in the stimulation and guidance of historical imagination.

The Service Center's regular work has gone forward with its usual quiet effectiveness. Its quality was particularly underlined this fall by the simultaneous publication of three pamphlets: on the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and recent imperialism. The first is a summary of scholarship that can hearten us all as we anticipate the wave of indiscriminating interest that is certain to accompany the American Revolution bicentennial in the years just ahead.

This range of activities and the continued growth of the Association have increased the need to rethink the role of the Association under the new conditions of scholarly work in our country. The *Review* has shifted this fall to five issues a year to meet pressing needs, and under Henry Winkler's able editorship has maintained its distinction and high degree of usefulness. A special evening panel at the meeting this year is reviewing critically the role of our Annual Meeting. A 70 per cent response to the directory questionnaire sent out to members last spring has been entered on IBM cards, so that we may draw from it some statistical information on the composition of the Association.

In all of these matters the priorities, and the satisfactions for the members of your staff, have centered in helping to clarify the role history should play in the thinking and activities of today. I am grateful for the quality of understanding and cooperation that again this year has so consistently characterized the

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work of the Association's committees, officers, and office staff. My particular gratitude goes to Henry Winkler, upon his forthcoming resignation as Managing Editor, for the unfailing good judgment and good teamwork with which he has responded to my needs for advice and assistance in learning to serve the Association during these past two and more years of its adjusting to new situations and challenges.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1967

This will be my last annual report as Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review*. I have informed the Board of Editors and the officers of the Association that I have accepted the post of dean of the faculty of liberal arts at my university, Rutgers, and that I will remain as editor until a successor can be appointed, at the latest by July 1, 1968. Whether I have served the profession well is for the members of the Association to judge; that my experience as editor has been an enriching one is to me unquestionable. I leave the editorship with real regret, not the least because I have had the privilege of working with a dedicated and efficient staff at the *Review*. Patricia Fox, Rita Howe, Betsy Johnston, and John Appleby in Washington have been largely responsible for the care and the *expertise* with which the *Review* has been produced, and Jane Burks in New Brunswick has made it possible for a largely absentee editor to function with the minimum possible waste of energy and time. It has been rewarding, too, to work with officers as devoted to the scholarly and pedagogical interests of our profession as are Paul Ward, Elmer Kayser, and Robert Zangrando. And I have been genuinely honored to be permitted to learn as much as I have from the distinguished scholars on the Board of Editors who are largely responsible for ensuring that my judgments are sound and my sense of proportion reasonably balanced.

The details of the past year's operations can be quickly summarized. Volume LXXII (October 1966–July 1967) contained 1,635 pages, some 20 pages more than the previous volume. Aside from the advertising matter that is highly useful to readers and that constantly seems likely to crowd out the articles and reviews, the volume contained almost exactly the same number of reviews as in the previous year, 967 as compared with 966. There were eighteen articles and one symposium in addition to Roy F. Nichols' presidential address, "History in a Self-Governing Culture." Seven of the articles were on modern European history, eight on United States history, one on medieval history, and two on ancient history, a relatively standard mixture the content of which is much more important than its distribution. Contrary to editorial predictions, some fifty fewer articles were submitted than last year. In part, the reduction appears to reflect some growth in the understanding that the *Review* is seeking articles of genuinely broad treatment and appeal, however narrow or specialized the subject matter. In part, it seems to be a matter of timing, since the number of articles submitted since September 1, 1967, has once again gone up in comparison to earlier periods.

Figures, however, hardly begin to indicate that Volume LXXII was memorable in the history of the *Review*. It was the last volume of the quarterly publica-

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tion of our journal. Beginning with the October 1967 issue, the *Review* has gone on a five-times-a-year schedule, a major change in format that should make it possible, as I urged in earlier reports, to solicit reviews of more books, to give space once again to some longer and more wide-ranging reviews of major new works, to publish an occasional unconventional article, and to seek out informed discussions of general issues of interest to the entire profession, for example on methodological or philosophical or bibliographical questions. I flatter myself that with the help of many colleagues I have moved the *Review* in a modest way along the road described in the October issue:

> The Board of Editors believes that the *Review* should continue its traditional course, publishing articles that reflect the most important original work that is being done in various fields. The Board also feels, however, that the *Review* should seek to attract manuscripts that interest a wide segment of its subscribers. The *Review* will hope to publish, therefore, articles that may be read with profit by the specialist for their intrinsic interest or by the nonspecialist for the insights into methodological problems they offer, for the fruitful comparisons they suggest, or for the speculative generalizations they may stimulate.

But I have no illusions. My successor will have the task of employing the five issues in ways that will make the *Review* even more useful to members of the American Historical Association and to other readers. I am increasingly coming to feel that the present format of all our journals is likely to undergo major changes within the next couple of decades. The technological changes that have already been recognized as opportunities rather than annoyances by chemists and medical scholars, by psychologists and linguists, by musicologists and sociologists, are going to have to be coped with by historians. It may well be that journals in the future will contain an article or two of very general interest, or particularly elegantly written, or of overriding historical significance, but then a relatively large number of brief author-prepared abstracts. The abstracts could point the way to easily duplicated copies of articles that can be furnished to those who order them for a minimal fee. A number of editors of historical journals have been reflecting on such possibilities, and I am convinced that their attention is focused on a real issue. The enormous flood of print with which scholars have to cope is clearly going to have to be controlled in more manageable form than is the current practice.

Ours is a conservative discipline, and we have lagged behind others in seeing the possibilities inherent in the tools and machines of our contemporary technology. To illustrate, the time is long overdue when the provision of bibliographical materials should be placed on a much more systematic basis than is our current practice. Historians will have to cooperate at the very least with social scientists and humanists in working out not only coordinated but fiscally achievable systems of computer-controlled distribution of bibliographical materials. In such a task the scholarly associations will have to be fully involved, and, within those associations, the editors of journals will have to play key roles. The task of a new editor, then, will be, in my judgment, more extensive and more difficult than was that of my predecessors or myself. But his opportunity to serve the profession will by that token be comparatively greater.

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I must not go on at length since this is a report and not a funeral oration over an expiring editor. But I do not want to conclude without expressing my gratitude to the two members of the Board of Editors who are finishing their terms at this meeting. Joseph R. Strayer and C. Bradford Welles have given freely and wisely of their time to the business of the *Review,* and it would be superfluous for me to do more than thank them. I can only go back to what I said at the beginning of this report. I have learned enormously from scholars such as they, and I will leave the *Review* deeply indebted to the Council of the Association for the chance to have worked so closely with so many first-rate historians and first-rate human beings. I hope and believe that I leave the *Review* to my successor in good condition. And I hope that his experience will be as rich and satisfying as mine.

HENRY R. WINKLER, *Managing Editor*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1966–1967

The American Historical Association headquarters and its equipment are valued at $147,294.66. On August 31, 1967, the Association had $67,587.69 in cash for general purposes. Temporary investments of unrestricted funds amounted to $48,577.15; $1,068.65 was in receivables. Funds, unrestricted as to use of income and in the custody of the Fiduciary Trust Company of New York under the direction of the Board of Trustees, amount to $394,542.88. These items (headquarters building and equipment, cash, receivables, and invested funds) constitute assets of $659,071.03 available for general purposes of the Association.

Securities in the portfolio of the Matteson Fund amount to $91,784.94; those in other specific restricted Association funds amount to $350,158.62. The various restricted funds total $441,943.56.

Funds, restricted and unrestricted, composing the total assets of the Association amount to $1,101,014.59 if the *book value* of permanent investments is used. If *market values,* according to August 31, 1967, appraisal are used, the total assets of the Association amount to $1,381,521.67. There is a decrease of $31,311.15 in value of Association funds if *book value* is used. An increase of $17,911.72 in the value of Association funds is shown if *market value* of permanent investments is used.

A condensed account of the Association's financial operations during the past fiscal year will appear in the Association's *Annual Report.* All financial accounts have been audited by Main, Lafrentz & Company, certified public accountants. Their report is on file at Association headquarters, where it is available for inspection by interested members. Filed also at headquarters and available for examination is the report of the Fiduciary Trust Company, approved by the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, on the securities held in its custody.

ELMER LOUIS KAYSER, *Treasurer*

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MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION THE ROYAL YORK HOTEL, TORONTO DECEMBER 27, 1967, 9:30 A.M.

The meeting was called to order by the chairman, AHA President Hajo Holborn. Present were: John K. Fairbank, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Paul L. Ward, Executive Secretary; Henry R. Winkler, Managing Editor of the *Review;* elected Council members Thomas C. Cochran, Philip D. Curtin, Wallace Ferguson, Carl E. Schorske, John L. Snell, Jr., and William B. Willcox; voting former Presidents Julian P. Boyd, Frederic C. Lane, and Roy F. Nichols; and Robert L. Zangrando, Assistant Executive Secretary. Council member Richard Hofstadter was unable to attend.

Mr. Ferguson read a letter from former President Samuel Flagg Bemis in which Mr. Bemis expressed regret that he could not attend the Toronto meeting he had helped to initiate.

The minutes of the Council meeting of May 13, 1967, as published in the October *Review,* were approved.

The Council then formally approved actions taken by the Executive Committee since the Council meeting of May 13, 1967, as follows: appointment of members to the new standing Committee on Bibliographical Services to History established by the Council at its meeting of May 13; instruction to the Treasurer to reimburse the Association's general funds in the amount of $5,926.76, to cover payment of legal fees to the Association's attorney, from the special fund for the Defense of Rights of Historians under the First Amendment; establishment of an *ad hoc* Committee on American-East Asian Relations; selection of Boston, Massachusetts, as the Association's Annual Meeting site for 1970; authorization of expenditure of $36,000.00 for the purchase of property at 18 Fourth Street, S.E., Washington, D. C., to be held in the name of an AHA subsidiary corporation; authorization of expenditure of $1,000.00 to round out the total originally budgeted for the International Textbook Project sponsored by the AHA, the National Council for the Social Studies, and Phi Delta Kappa.

Mr. Winkler presented the report of the Managing Editor and submitted his nominations for appointments to the Board of Editors: Tom B. Jones, University of Minnesota, and Bryce Lyon, Brown University. Mr. Holborn extended to Mr. Winkler the Council's gratitude for his work as Managing Editor, its regret at losing him, and its best wishes.

The Council then heard the report of the Assistant Executive Secretary, Mr. Zangrando, who introduced the report of the Committee on the Professional Register. He noted that registrants and positions posted continue to increase and that the Professional Register has instituted a policy of annual billing. In response to a question, he said the Professional Register does not get much business from community colleges and junior colleges. Mr. Winkler pointed out that community colleges recruit staff from high schools, so that by publicizing the Professional Register at Service Center conferences the Association could move into helping community colleges find staff members.

The Organization of American Historians now uses the United States Em-

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ployment Service rather than the Association's Professional Register as in the past two years. USES is free and is used by some other professional societies whose employment operations are simpler than those of the Professional Register. Mr. Snell asked whether it might not be worthwhile to employ the USES system also. Mr. Zangrando said that would mean abandoning the Professional Register as it presently operates, but that the idea had advantages and would save money. He said he plans to look into the operation of USES during the OAH meeting next April.

He then introduced the report of the delegate to the editorial board of *Social Education,* published by the National Council for the Social Studies and the AHA. He noted with satisfaction the appointment of Daniel Roselle as the new editor of *Social Education.*

The next item Mr. Zangrando discussed was the report of the Committee on Teaching. He mentioned the International Textbook Project as an example of collaboration between history and the other social sciences. The result of the project will be a book of readings on thirteen topical areas of US history, excerpted from history textbooks of other countries at the equivalent of our eleventh-grade level. It is to be published in early 1969. The pamphlet *Preparation of Secondary-School History Teachers* has been revised, and next year the price of Service Center pamphlets will probably be raised from fifty cents to seventy-five cents. Since the proposed School History Projects Board was not funded by the Office of Education, an oblique approach is now being made, and the Office of Education may be able to provide funds to set up and pay operational expenses for regional liaison groups around the country to collaborate with the Service Center and help improve teaching. Funds will also be sought for a critical journal designed to assess textbooks and teaching materials. Mr. Ward added that he has discussed the prospects for projects in the School History Projects Board area with the Danforth Foundation. The regional committees are important, he said, because cooperation with local people is emphasized by the Office of Education.

Mr. Zangrando then turned to the report of the Committee on University and College Teaching. Its present chief concern is the feature film project. This project is to have individual historians develop twenty-minute cartridges excerpted from feature-length films of historical value (*A Man for All Seasons,* for example), each cartridge to be coupled with selected readings and used as assignments in college courses. The committee is also interested in preparing a publication dealing with programs and personnel in history at the bachelor's, master's, and junior college levels. A third concern of the committee is the need to assist in work on the problems of history in the junior and community colleges.

Mr. Zangrando introduced the report of the delegate to the Central Atlantic Regional Education Laboratory, and he concluded with a report on the Committee to Collect the Quantitative Data of History, which would like its name changed to Committee on Quantification in History since its focus is not really on collecting data. Several Council members objected to the implications of the word "quantification," and Mr. Cochran moved the committee's name be changed to Committee on Quantitative Data in History. The motion carried.

Mr. Snell stressed the importance to the profession of improvement of teaching in junior colleges since these institutions feed directly into universities. He sug-

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gested the Committee on University and College Teaching cooperate with other historical associations in planning both sessions at their meetings and a program of regional conferences directed toward junior college teachers.

The Council then turned to the other committee reports, the first being the report of the Committee on Committees. It chose to consider recommendations seriatim and take action on the entire report at the end.

Mr. Snell pointed out that new members recommended for membership on the Beer Prize Committee show that the Committee on Committees interprets the terms of the prize—"any phase of the international relations of Europe"—broadly. Other members gave arguments for the broad interpretation, and the matter was deferred until the spring Council meeting. After a few revisions the Council approved the report of the Committee on Committees as follows:

Standing Committees:

*Committee on Bibliographical Services to History.***—Aubrey C. Land, University of Maryland, chairman; Lee Benson, University of Pennsylvania; Howard F. Cline, Hispanic Foundation; Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia; R. Stuart Hoyt, University of Minnesota; Oscar Winther, Indiana University; Henry R. Winkler, *American Historical Review* (ex officio).*

Committee on Committees.—Paul L. Ward, American Historical Association, chairman (ex officio); John M. Blum, Yale University; Elizabeth Foster, Bryn Mawr College; James C. Olson, University of Nebraska; John A. Schutz, University of Southern California;* C. Vann Woodward, Yale University;* John K. Fairbank, Harvard University (ex officio); Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University (ex officio); Henry R. Winkler, *American Historical Review* (ex officio).

Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship.—Allan Nevins, Huntington Library; Bell I. Wiley, Emory University; T. Harry Williams, Louisiana State University;* John K. Fairbank, Harvard University (ex officio); Hajo Holborn, Yale University (ex officio).

Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.—Louis Morton, Dartmouth College, chairman; Henry David, National Research Council;* Robert Divine, University of Texas; William M. Franklin, Department of State; David Landes, Harvard University; Rowland Mitchell, Social Science Research Council; Bradford Perkins, University of Michigan; Donald Swain, University of California, Davis.*

Committee on Honorary Members.—Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, chairman; Carl Bridenbaugh, Brown University; Hajo Holborn, Yale University;* Frederic C. Lane, Westminster, Massachusetts; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Paul L. Ward, American Historical Association, chairman (ex officio); Howard F. Cline, Hispanic Foundation; Rosalie L. Colie, State University of Iowa; Raymond Grew, University of Michigan; Helmut Koenigsberger, Cornell University; Frederic C. Lane,

* New member this year.
** New committee this year.

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Westminster, Massachusetts; Richard Pipes, Harvard University; Boyd C. Shafer, Macalester College; Kenneth Stampp, University of California, Berkeley; Arthur Wright, Yale University.

Committee on Ph.D. Programs in History.—Richard Watson, Duke University, chairman; Douglass Adair, Claremont Graduate School;* Walter Berg, Central Washington State College; E. David Cronon, University of Wisconsin;* Joe B. Frantz, University of Texas; Lacey B. Smith, Northwestern University; John Snell, Jr., University of Pennsylvania; Theodore Von Laue, Washington University.*

Committee on the Professional Register.—Robert L. Zangrando, American Historical Association, chairman (ex officio); Charles Blitzer, Smithsonian Institution; Lawrence A. Cremin, Columbia University; Benjamin A. Quarles, Morgan State College;* David A. Shannon, University of Maryland; Roger W. Shugg, University of New Mexico Press; Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University (ex officio).

Service Center Editorial Advisory Board.—Stanley Idzerda, Wesleyan University; Alfred Rollins, Jr., University of Vermont;* Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University.

Committee on Teaching (Service Center for Teachers of History).—Wilson Smith, University of California, Davis, chairman; Donald Cole, Phillips Exeter Academy; Nelda Davis, Prince George's County Schools, Maryland; Henry Drewry, Princeton High School; Edwin T. Fenton, Carnegie-Mellon University;* Joyce Fulton, San Mateo, California;* Jack P. Greene, Johns Hopkins University;* Louis Harlan, University of Maryland;* Paul S. Holbo, University of Oregon;* Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Washington, D. C.; Thomas Pressly, University of Washington.

Committee on University and College Teaching.—Ralph E. Morrow, Washington University, chairman; Gene Brucker, University of California, Berkeley; Richard M. Douglas, Massachusetts Institute of Technology;* Robert W. Johannsen, University of Illinois;* Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University; William R. Taylor, University of Wisconsin.

Prize Committees:

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Felix Gilbert, Institute for Advanced Study, chairman; Joel G. Colton, Duke University; Hanna H. Gray, University of Chicago.*

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Ivo Lederer, Stanford University, chairman; Henry A. Turner, Yale University.*

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—Eric E. Lampard, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Jack P. Greene, Johns Hopkins University; Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, Smith College;* David D. Van Tassel, University of Texas; J. Harvey Young, Emory University.*

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Wesley Frank Craven, Princeton University, chairman; Norman A. Graebner, University of Virginia; Holman Hamilton, University of Kentucky.

Committee on the Clarence H. Haring Prize.—J. H. Parry, Harvard University,

* New member this year.

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chairman; Robert Burr, University of California, Los Angeles; Richard Morse, Yale University.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Joseph H. Smith, Columbia University, chairman; John J. Biggs, Jr., Wilmington, Delaware; Gerald Gunther, Stanford University; Michael Kammen, Cornell University;* Alfred Kelly, Wayne State University; Paul Murphy, University of Minnesota.

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—Willson H. Coates, University of Rochester, chairman; Philip Curtin, University of Wisconsin; Philip P. Poirier, Ohio State University; David Spring, Johns Hopkiins University; Sylvia Thrupp, University of Michigan.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Ainslie T. Embree, Columbia University, chairman; B. K. Gupta, Brooklyn College; Norman Palmer, University of Pennsylvania.

Ad Hoc **Committees:**

*Committee on American-East Asian Relations.***—Ernest May, Harvard University, chairman; John M. Blum, Yale University; Alexander DeConde, University of California, Santa Barbara;* John K. Fairbank, Harvard University; Norman A. Graebner, University of Virginia; Richard W. Leopold, Northwestern University.

Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial.—Lester Cappon, Institute of Early American History and Culture, chairman; John R. Alden, Duke University; Whitfield Bell, American Philosophical Society; Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson; Lyman H. Butterfield, Massachusetts Historical Society; Oliver W. Holmes, National Historical Publications Commission; Hugh F. Rankin, Tulane University;* Otis Singletary, American Council on Education; William J. Van Schreeven, Archivist of Virginia; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Northwestern University.

Committee on Quantitative Data in History.—Lee Benson, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; William O. Aydelotte, State University of Iowa; Allan Bogue, University of Wisconsin; Thomas Condon, American Council of Learned Societies; David Herlihy, University of Wisconsin; Val Lorwin, Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences; William P. McGreevey, University of California, Berkeley; Warren Miller, Inter-University Consortium for Political Research; Rowland Mitchell, Social Science Research Council; Jacob Price, University of Michigan; Theodore Rabb, Princeton University;* Henry Rosovsky, Harvard University; Leonard Thompson, University of California, Los Angeles; Robert L. Zangrando, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Film Cartridge Project (subcommittee of the Committee on University and College Teaching).** J. Joseph Huthmacher, Rutgers University, director; William H. McNeill, University of Chicago; Michael Petrovich, University of Wisconsin; Donald Shively, Harvard University; Leo F. Solt, Indiana University.

Committee on the Freedom of Historical Inquiry.—Arthur Bestor, University of

* New member this year.
** New committee this year.

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Washington, chairman; Mrs. Vincent Eaton, South Hadley, Massachusetts; Robert A. Gorman, University of Pennsylvania Law School; Herman Kahn, National Archives; Donald McCoy, University of Kansas;* Louis Morton, Dartmouth College.

Joint Committees:

Joint Committee of the Canadian Historical Association and the American Historical Association.—Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri, US chairman; Alice Stewart, University of Maine;* John Hall Stewart, Western Reserve University; G. M. Craig, University of Toronto, Canadian chairman; Craig Brown, University of Toronto; Margaret Ormsby, University of British Columbia.

Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment.—AHA members: John K. Fairbank, Harvard University (ex officio); Paul L. Ward, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Joint Committee on the Status of the National Archives.—AHA members: Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, chairman; Louis Morton, Dartmouth College; OAH members: Fletcher Green, University of North Carolina; David A. Shannon, University of Maryland; SAA members: William T. Alderson, American Association for State and Local History; H. G. Jones, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

The Council next considered a series of actions arising out of individual committee reports.

The Program Committee for the 1967 Annual Meeting had approved and directed to the Council the following statement:

Resolved:

1. That the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association is one of the more important contributions the Association makes to the continuing progress of the profession;
2. That the remarkable growth of the profession, the expansion of interest in areas of the world previously neglected in both teaching and research, and the increasingly active role the Association is beginning to play in the teaching of history at every level of instruction require that the Annual Meeting and the creation of its program receive more consistent and determined attention than they have thus far;
3. That the function, organization, format, time, and place of the Annual Meeting, and the role the affiliated organizations play, deserve careful study by a committee appointed by the Council of the Association;
4. That the Executive Secretary of the Association, or a representative of his office, be an active ex officio member of the Program Committee, until the committee report has been accepted and put into effect;
5. That the present Chairman of the Program and Local Arrangements Committees be invited to meet with the Council to discuss their experience and to make recommendations concerning the Annual Meeting and the preparation of the program.

Members of the Council agreed in discussion that the resolution of the Program Committee pointed to two kinds of problems: the specific year-to-year adminstrative problems in connection with the Annual Meeting; and the more general problem of what part the Annual Meeting should play considered in the context of the Association's fundamental aims and priorities for the future. It was brought out in discussion that the latter problem calls for reconsidering the

* New member this year.

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function of the Annual Meeting in the same sense that the Managing Editor's report calls for re-evaluating the *Review*'s function, and that the Association's operations in other areas also need reconsideration in light of the present situation: the increasing AHA membership, the rising status of history as a social science, the need to reinforce the humanities aspect of history, and other needs connected with service to history and historians. Members felt that while work on smoothing out the administrative problems of the Annual Meeting should begin right away, the over-all problem of the Annual Meeting's role in the Association's operation deserved thorough consideration in the context of the Association's other reappraisals.

After further discussion, the Council voted that its Executive Committee be charged with the study of the functions of the AHA, it being understood that in the course of its explorations the Executive Committee will seek out the views of younger members of the profession and make them known to the Council. The Council further resolved to invite J. B. Conacher, William E. Leuchtenburg, Louis Morton, and John Roche (the 1966 and 1967 Program and Local Arrangements Chairmen) to attend the Council meeting in the spring of 1968 and to supply the Executive Secretary in advance with whatever materials they wish circulated to the Council as background information for discussion of the Annual Meeting, and to invite the Program and Local Arrangements Chairmen for 1968 to attend the meeting as observers.

The Council next considered the report of the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government. The committee had submitted a draft resolution concerning the circumstances in which William R. Taylor was not appointed to the White House Advisory Panel on Educational Research and Development. The Council deferred action on the resolution until Mr. Morton, the chairman of the committee, could be present to discuss the resolution and supply background information.

Mr. Ward mentioned the pending legislation that would establish the National Endowment on the Humanities on a continuing basis, rather than maintain it as a year-to-year operation. He and the committee felt it important that, when the legislation is considered, the Association press the interests of the NEH by speaking to congressmen and getting members to write their congressmen to that end. It was agreed that the Executive Secretary should be in touch with key people to make sure then that legislators friendly to history understand our concern.

One member suggested that Mr. Ward register as a lobbyist. Mr. Ward said he has been told that it is a simple and inexpensive matter to do so and that it would not jeopardize the Association's tax-exempt status, since the tax exemption is not affected unless lobbying is a significant part of the activities of the Association, and it would be easy to demonstrate that it is insignificant to the AHA. On motion by Mr. Kayser, the Council voted to instruct the Executive Secretary to investigate the matter of registration as a lobbyist and to register as such if and when he deems it desirable. The Council further authorized the formation of an *ad hoc* committee to render support to the National Endowment on the Humanities at the Executive Secretary's discretion, with the approval of the Executive Committee.

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The Committee on Honorary Members reported next, through Mr. Ward. On motion, the Council voted to extend honorary membership in the Association to Herbert Butterfield (Cambridge), J. Duroselle (Paris), Sir John Neale (London, emeritus), and P. A. Zaionchkovskii (Moscow).

The Council then recessed for lunch.

Reconvening after lunch, the Council heard the report of the Pacific Coast Branch, read by Solomon Katz, president of the PCB.

The next item of business was the report of the Nominating Committee, presented by its chairman, Clarence L. Ver Steeg. He noted that the Nominating Committee last December proposed to the Council a constitutional amendment that would have increased the membership of the Nominating Committee from five to six and increase the length of terms to three years. At that time the Council responded with a counterproposal that membership be increased to nine members serving two-year terms. Mr. Ver Steeg stressed that the Nominating Committee still believes that continuity of experience of members on the committee is invaluable and that continuity would not be sufficiently ensured by the Council's counterproposal. Mr. Snell questioned whether continuity provided by three-year terms might not increase the risk of perpetuation of cliques. He felt that a larger membership with more rapid turnover would involve more people in the nominating process and hence increase the democratic character of nominations. Mr. Ver Steeg pointed out that one job of the Nominating Committee is to canvass members for suggestions of names, but that rarely does one person get as many as five separate nominations by this means. He said the Nominating Committee conceives of its duties as statesmanlike, rather than directly representative of geographic areas or fields of history.

Without resolving the above question, the Council turned to consideration of one immediate problem facing the Nominating Committee: one of the races in the election the results of which were announced at the Business Meeting was very close, and the decision as to who wins hinges on interpretation of the language on the printed ballot, which is ambiguous. After discussion, the Council asked Mr. Ver Steeg to check with his office to find out the total number of votes received for each candidate to date and to report back when he knew. The Council agreed to let that final figure be the deciding one except in the event of a tie.

The Council turned to a resolution proposed by the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government on the subject of William R. Taylor and the White House Advisory Panel on Educational Research and Development. Mr. Louis Morton, chairman of the committee, read excerpts from Mr. Taylor's statement to the press as quoted in a letter from the American Civil Liberties Union to Donald F. Hornig, the President's scientific adviser. Members of the Council felt there were vagueness and contradiction in its information, but that the possibility existed that a serious issue was raised. The Council referred the matter back to the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government and asked the committee to report to the Council after investigation, with recommendations for Council action.

The next item of business was the report of the Committee on Prizes and Awards. The Council agreed that the report, and indeed the whole area of Association prizes and honors, ought to have full consideration; it was moved

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and seconded that consideration of the report be deferred until the spring Council meeting. The motion carried.

The Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship had directed the Council's attention to a new procedure that it wished to institute whereby the initiative for selecting the Harmsworth Professors (holders of visiting professorships in recent American history at Oxford) would lie with the AHA committee, rather than with the Board of Electors at Oxford. Mr. Ward mentioned that he will be traveling to England next summer and would be happy to get in touch with the Oxford people involved, to find out how they would receive such a suggestion. The Council approved this plan and referred the matter to the incoming Executive Committee.

Mr. Ward then introduced the report of the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment. The committee suggested, since further cases like the Frick-Stevens case are not expected to be common, that it be discharged and replaced by a small watchdog committee of three members from the AHA and three from the OAH, that the balance in the hands of the joint committee's treasurer be returned to the two associations in the ratio of their contributions, and that the new committee not only consider any threats and marginal challenges as they arise, but also work out without delay a full "plan of action" for the next major challenge whenever it should appear. The Council accepted this suggestion and appointed as AHA members of the committee the President, the Executive Secretary, and Mr. Boyd.

The next item on the agenda was the report of the Joint Committee on the National Archives, introduced by Mr. Boyd, who outlined the history of the committee and submitted its full report (a book-length manuscript prepared by H. G. Jones, Archivist of North Carolina). He mentioned that, since the present archivist of the United States may retire soon, discussion of the report may be necessary in order to illuminate important considerations for choosing his successor. He said the report contained nothing controversial except the challenge it offers to the current concept that all presidential papers are the private property of the President. He said it is important that the archivist be responsible for presidential libraries and that they should be federally subsidized. Mr. Schorske suggested that librarians' organizations be included as consulting groups, and Mr. Boyd welcomed the suggestion.

Mr. Ver Steeg of the Nominating Committee returned to report that after all ballots received were counted, one candidate had in fact received one more vote than the other, and, according to the procedure previously established, the former candidate was the winner.

Mr. Ward then mentioned that it is the Nominating Committee's practice not to inform the nominee for the vice-presidency that he has been nominated until he sees his name on the printed ballot. The Council agreed that this practice could lead to embarrassing situations. On motion, the Council resolved that the Executive Secretary be instructed to communicate with the nominee for the vice-presidency, and the Nominating Committee with all other nominees for positions on the Council and Nominating Committee, once they are chosen, to determine whether they will consent to serve. Further, the Council voted that

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the nominee for vice-president be invited to attend as an observer the December Council meeting just prior to his election.

The Council then voted to approve the submission of the constitutional amendment as proposed by the Nominating Committee to the membership at the Business Meeting, as follows:

That Article VI, Section 1, of the American Historical Association Constitution be amended to read: "There shall be a Nominating Committee to consist of seven members, each of whom shall serve a term of three years. In successive years, the new members shall be elected as follows: three the first year, two the second year, and two the third year; this alternation shall continue except in the case of elections to complete unexpired terms. If vacancies on the Nominating Committee occur between the time of the annual elections, the Nominating Committee shall fill them by direct ad interim appointments."

The next item of business was the Treasurer's report. Mr. Kayser noted that the increase in the value of headquarters and equipment reflects the purchase by the Association of two lots adjoining the present headquarters building, giving the Association a plot of land neatly rectangular, and protecting it against future contingencies and needs.

He explained that the Service Center was set up under a foundation grant and that the balance remaining from the grant has now been used up. Rather than carry a continuing debit balance in the special grant account, he asked the Council to authorize closing out the special account and subsidizing the Service Center hereafter as part of the general fund, into which would go the proceeds from the sale of pamphlets and other Service Center income. The motion carried.

Next Mr. Kayser explained that the Association has long had the practice, in handling proceeds from invested funds, to allocate to these special funds interest at the rate of 3½ per cent across the board, while the general fund absorbs any income over that. He said the invested funds of the Association now earn more than 3½ per cent interest, so that the general fund is profiting at the expense of the special funds. On motion, the Council authorized the Treasurer and auditors to make an allocation of income that is more realistic and bears a closer relationship to what invested funds actually earn, by taking an average for the year of the per cent of interest earned by all invested funds and using that percentage as the rate of interest for all accounts, special and general.

Mr. Kayser explained the increase in auditing and legal expense over the amount budgeted as accounted for by a new audit system instituted last year, and by legal expenses for the Frick case, the *Sugar* v. *Fine* case, the suit against the former American Historical Society, and in connection with the copyright legislation. The Council then voted to approve the Treasurer's report.

Mr. Ward introduced the draft budget, which was approved after discussion.

The report of the Executive Secretary was then presented by Mr. Ward, who added that in the next few months his major concerns will be: If the National Science Foundation provides funding for a young historian to specialize on bibliographical needs of the profession, the man will have to be found as quickly as possible and launched on his duties. The American-East Asian Relations Committee's proposal, which has been laid before the Ford Foundation, will require

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similar efforts, Mr. Ward hoped. The work of the Committee on Ph.D. Programs in History, as authorized by the Council last spring, would require fullest attention without delay. Mr. Ward said he found attractive the idea of a pamphlet giving information about the approved institutions' programs, rather than a simple listing of institutions. Financial arrangements for the feature film project described earlier by Mr. Zangrando, about which Mr. Ward is talking to the Rockefeller Foundation, will need to be worked out. The School History Projects Board, aspects of which are being discussed with the Danforth Foundation, must be actively pursued.

Upon motion by Mr. Kayser, the Council adopted the following resolution:

The Council of the American Historical Association records its deep appreciation of the services of Henry R. Winkler as Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review*. His scholarly ability, technical knowledge, and indefatigable industry have raised the *Review* to new levels of generally recognized excellence and authority. His interest and concern have extended beyond his editorial duties to many other areas of the Association's activity where his wide acquaintance with the profession, his broad understanding of history, and his sound administrative judgment have made his advice and counsel of inestimable value to his colleagues. We hail him not only as a distinguished editor, but as a cherished friend and associate who has served us well. As he now assumes the arduous and exacting duties of dean in his university, he carries with him the assurance of our gratitude, our respect, and our affection.

Next, on motion by Mr. Lane, the Council voted to authorize the Executive Secretary to hire more staff for himself as he deems necessary and effective, even if it means going beyond the budgeted limits, and to assure the Executive Secretary that the Council will support any such request.

Mr. Snell then raised a question in connection with the report of the delegate to the Marquis Biographical Library Society, and the Council voted that the Executive Secretary raise with the AHA delegate the misgivings of some Council members about the types of questions proposed for *Who's Who* biographees (to be used as reference material for scholars) and the hope of the Council that the Association will have a chance to look at the questions before they are sent to anyone in the name of the AHA.

Mr. Snell called the Council's attention to the suggestion by the Committee on National Aid to Historical Research that the Council meet more often. It was decided that the Council will meet three times in 1968, possibly in March and September as well as December.

The Council then turned to a series of appointments. Mr. Ward was appointed Executive Secretary for another three-year term, and the Council voted to offer, to a member nominated by a special subcommittee, the position of Managing Editor for a three-year term, salaried on the basis of the academic year, and with supervision of editorial revision of the Service Center pamphlet series as well as the *Review*. The Council referred the question as to how future candidates for the editorship are selected to the Executive Committee for consideration with the other over-all problems of the Association.

The Council approved the appointment of Lawrence W. Towner as Program Chairman for the 1968 Annual Meeting; the appointment of Messrs. Cochran and Willcox as members of the Executive Committee for the coming year; and

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the appointment of Mr. W. A. W. Stewart to serve another five-year term on the Board of Trustees of the Association.

Under further old business, the question of future Annual Meeting sites was postponed pending discussion at the spring Council meeting about the Annual Meeting.

Mr. Ward announced that the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, which has plans for a Woodrow Wilson memorial that corresponds in large part with the Association's proposal for a historical Center for Scholars, will have information about these plans for the Council at its next meeting.

Under new business, the Council voted to approve the proposed increase of dues to the American Council of Learned Societies to the amount of $1,500.00, beginning with 1968, and to instruct its delegate to support the new schedule of dues when the ACLS next meets.

Action arising out of communication with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was tabled, with general agreement that the Council at its earliest opportunity will consider the general problem of gross breaches of professional ethics and of the procedures by which the profession can best guard its interests in the event of any such breach.

Its business completed, the Council, on motion, adjourned.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION THE ROYAL YORK HOTEL, TORONTO DECEMBER 29, 1967, 4:30 P.M.

The Business Meeting of the Association convened in the Ontario Room of the Royal York Hotel, with approximately one hundred members present. President Hajo Holborn presided.

The minutes of the previous meeting were approved. Mr. Paul L. Ward, Executive Secretary, presented his report, which was available in mimeographed form, and invited questions or comments.

Mr. W. Stull Holt questioned the statement that the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission's plans for a Woodrow Wilson memorial are "taking shape substantially along the lines of the proposal set out in Julian Boyd's presidential address of 1965, although the focus will be less upon historians than upon the full range of disciplines exemplified in Woodrow Wilson's career." Mr. Holt said it was misleading to suggest that the Wilson memorial, which would simply include a hostel, would be equivalent to the full-fledged research center for historians proposed in Mr. Boyd's address. Mr. Ward responded that the staff of the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission has indicated that it would make available more detailed information about its plans before the next Council meeting, since it could not do so earlier. He explained that its plans currently call for two buildings, one of which is simply a hostel, and the other a center for scholars designed for the use of recipients of fellowships. The plans call for fellowships to be granted for two-year terms to about forty scholars at one time.

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On motion, the report of the Executive Secretary was accepted.

Mr. Henry R. Winkler, who had announced his plans to relinquish the editorship of the *Review* in the summer of 1968, gave his report. Mr. Holborn expressed the deep thanks of the Association to Mr. Winkler for his work as editor, saying Mr. Winkler had brought a fresh breeze into the historical enterprise. On motion, the Managing Editor's report was accepted.

Mr. Elmer L. Kayser then presented the Treasurer's report. He said he wished to anticipate two questions, the first of which was: how much is the Association worth? The answer to this question can be found by totaling the value of the headquarters and equipment, the value of special funds, and the value of the general fund. Mr. Kayser pointed out that the Association is still worth more than one million dollars; the reason it was not worth more this year than last year was the number of disbursements made in 1967. The second question was: is the Association making money? Mr. Kayser said that if the figure representing gain on sale of investments, which goes back into the general fund, is deducted from the total assets, the answer is "no." For the Association not to make money is a triumph, Mr. Kayser said, since it is a nonprofit organization and last year came very close to breaking even. In moving the acceptance of the report, a member congratulated the Treasurer on coming up with a deficit balance, however slight. The Treasurer's report was accepted.

The report of the decisions of the Council at its meeting December 27 was given next. The minutes were available in mimeographed draft form, and Mr. Ward invited questions or comments.

One member commended the Council on electing Herbert Butterfield to honorary membership and praised the initiatives expressed by this year's Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship. He further commended the Program Committee for recognizing the Annual Meeting's contribution to the progress of the historical profession.

In response to another question, Mr. Ward outlined the Association's action to date regarding establishment of a national social science foundation, noting that the Committee on National Aid to Historical Research and the Council had considered the matter and that he had testified in support of such a foundation before the Subcommittee on Government Research of the Senate Committee on Government Operations in June 1967.

The next question was raised by Mr. Alden Todd, who asked whether it was an appropriate time to ask the Executive Secretary if he knew of any tribute being planned for David Chambers Mearns on his retirement as chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Mr. Ward replied that he knew of no plans, but invited Mr. Todd to suggest an appropriate motion.

In response to a question about the possibility of collecting and making available the papers given at the Annual Meeting, Mr. Ward explained that there is a standing offer on the part of the AHA office to reproduce in advance any paper submitted in time. No one has yet taken advantage of this offer, which suggests that authors are not in favor of the idea.

Mr. Holborn then recognized Mr. Philip D. Curtin, who introduced a series of motions. The first was seconded and adopted as follows:

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That the Executive Secretary be asked to express the appreciation of the Association to the Government of Ontario (Department of Tourism and Information) for the hospitality extended to members at its reception, and to the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto for sponsoring the bus tours of Toronto.

Next, upon motion by Mr. Curtin, the following motion was adopted:

That the Chairman of the Program Committee, Professor Louis Morton, and his associates be warmly thanked by the Association for their achievement in creating an outstanding program.

Mr. Curtin's final motion was seconded and adopted as follows:

That the thanks of the Association be conveyed to the Local Arrangements Chairman, Professor J. B. Conacher, and to the members of the Local Arrangements Committee and their admirable staff of aids, for their assistance, as well as to the Canadian Historical Association in general, for its hospitality.

Mr. Clarence L. Ver Steeg was recognized as Chairman of the Nominating Committee. He moved the adoption of the following slate of officers for the Association for 1968: for President, John K. Fairbank; for Vice-President, C. Vann Woodward; for Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser. The motion was duly seconded, and Messrs. Fairbank, Woodward, and Kayser were elected. Mr. Ver Steeg reported the results of the mail ballot for three vacancies on the Council and for two vacancies on the Nominating Committee. Elected to the Council were David M. Potter, Lynn White, jr., and Caroline Robbins. Professor Robbins was elected to serve for one year to fill out the unexpired term of President-elect Fairbank; Professors Potter and White were elected to full four-year terms. Elected to the Nominating Committee for two-year terms were Charles F. Delzell and Frederick B. Tollles. Mr. Ver Steeg moved that the candidates be approved for the offices designated and for their respective terms of office. The motion was duly seconded and adopted.

Under new business, on motion by Mr. Todd, it was resolved that the officers of the Association consider making a tribute to David Chambers Mearns.

Since there was no further business, the meeting was, on motion, adjourned.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

R. K. Webb, professor at Columbia University, has assumed the position of Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review,* to become effective July 1, 1968. Henry R. Winkler, Managing Editor since September 1964, resigned the editorship to become dean of the faculty of liberal arts at Rutgers University.

Webb received his bachelor's degree (1947) from Oberlin College and his master's degree (1948) and doctorate (1951) from Columbia University. He is interested in modern British social and intellectual history and has produced *The British Working Class Reader, 1790–1848,* a biography of Harriet Martineau, and *Modern England, from the Eighteenth Century to the Present.*

Through an oversight, permission was not obtained to publish the letter of Charles A. Beard in the February 1968 issue. The *American Historical Review*

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is grateful to Miriam Beard Vagts and William Beard for their gracious permission to publish the letter.

Recent Deaths

Rembert W. Patrick, graduate research professor at the University of Georgia and a former president of the Southern Historical Association, died November 16, 1967.

Alfred A. Skerpan, professor at Kent State University, died December 5.

William J. Grattan, professor and chairman of the department of history and political science at the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts, died December 8, at the age of fifty-one.

George C. A. Boehrer, professor at the University of Kansas, died December 18, at the age of forty-six. In addition to various academic appointments, he also held the post of cultural affairs officer in the US embassy at Rio de Janeiro. As a section editor from 1958 to 1960, he provided the *Review*'s bibliographical listings for Latin America.

Frank D. Reeve, formerly a professor at the University of New Mexico and editor of the *New Mexico Historical Review,* died December 31, at the age of sixty-eight.

Stanley Pargellis, librarian of the Newberry Library from 1942 to 1962, died in Chicago on January 6, 1968, after a brief illness.

Born in Toledo, Ohio, on June 25, 1898, Pargellis was an undergraduate at the University of Nevada, which gave him its Distinguished Nevadan Award in 1958. After serving as a private in the coast artillery in 1918 he entered the Harvard Law School, where he spent a semester. In 1919 he received a Rhodes scholarship, which enabled him to read history at Exeter College. His years at Oxford caused him to change his career—he had intended to enter the business world—and colored the whole of his later life. He became not only a distinguished historian but also a lifelong Anglophile, a wine lover, a confirmed clubman, a lover of tradition. Many of the friendships he made at Oxford lasted throughout his life, and for many years he was a member of the Rhodes Selection Committee.

After leaving Oxford Pargellis entered the graduate school of Yale University, from which he received his Ph.D. in 1929. He taught history at Yale from 1925 to 1942. Under his administration the Newberry, already a great library, became far better known throughout the world, attracting scholars from Europe as well as the United States. Among regular readers were Stanley Morison, who visited the library annually for a period of over twenty years, partially to use the collections, partially to see the librarian and the staff that he had recruited. Pargellis made many significant additions to the Newberry's holdings: the papers of Sherwood Anderson; the C. L. Ricketts collection of calligraphy; many great English, American, and European manuscripts and early printed books. His stand-

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ards were invariably high. "A book must have intrinsic worth or it is not worth house room—even as a gift" was a favorite maxim. He also instituted a fellowship program, which enabled scholars to use the library's resources, and a publications program to help disseminate their findings. The list of his own writings occupied over ten pages in the *Festschrift, Essays in History and Literature Presented to Stanley Pargellis by Fellows of the Newberry Library,* published on his retirement. The most important of these were the *Bibliography of British History: The Eighteenth Century,* which he and D. J. Medley edited (1951), and *Lord Loudoun in North America* (1933).

Pargellis also spent countless hours helping others get their work published. As president of the Modern Poetry Association, publishers of *Poetry,* he helped to solve the magazine's recurrent financial problems and enabled it to continue as one of the leading international forums for modern verse.

An eminently clubbable man, fond of good wine, good food, and good conversation, Stanley Pargellis will be sorely missed at the Caxton, the Grolier, and the Century, in the bookshops and libraries, the common rooms and faculty clubs of a world which he thoroughly enjoyed and to which he gave much.

Richard S. West, Jr., member of the faculty of the department of English, history, and government at the US Naval Academy, died February 13, at the age of sixty-five.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

"Unsurprisingly," perhaps, the author of *The Warped Vision* has entirely missed the point of my short essay on *Munich* (see *AHR,* LXXII [July 1967], 1399). Professor George has read it as though it were an attempt to reconstruct the whole basis of British policy, which it plainly is not. Thus her remarks, unaccountably delivered *du haut en bas,* fall largely beside the point, which is that many recent accounts of British policy in the Czechoslovakian crisis, her own included, make great play with the " 'anti-Red' " motive, but without giving full consideration to all the evidence that bears on that subject—and often without paying much heed to other considerations (those urged, for example, by Watt, Medlicott, and Northedge) which surely were important. Pretty obviously we have different views of the conclusions that the evidence will support; mine are set out in the essay under reference.

Michigan State University Donald N. Lammers

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

In his review (*AHR,* LXXIII [Oct. 1967], 225) of my book *Socialist Origins in the United States: American Forerunners of Marx, 1817–1832,* Rudolph Vecoli deplores my supposed lack of familiarity with Joseph Dorfman's *The Economic Mind in American Civilization,* Volume II. Dorfman is mentioned on pages 34

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and 35 of my book and in particular his introduction to the recent edition of Byllesby's work. In this introduction (p. 17) *The Economic Mind in American Civilization* is referred to.

Vecoli says: "The ideas of each author . . . are presented largely in isolation from both the thought of the other social critics and the political and economic milieu within which they were formulated." In fact, as the *International Review of Social History* (XI [No. 3, 1966], 476) points out: "Dr. Harris gives a general picture of the significance of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy for the origins of an early American Socialism. . . . This Socialism had its roots in the beginning industrialization." I show the formation of an embryonic socialism in its relation to the birth of the labor movement and setting up of workingmen's parties.

It is not true then to say that I am, as Vecoli suggests, "indifferent to their significance for the history of their own times." But surely they have significance not only for "their" but also for "our" times, for a whole period in which capitalism—indeed at various stages of its development, but nevertheless unmistakably capitalism—has been developing America. The socialist precursors, a group to whom Marx referred in *The German Ideology* (see the Moscow 1964 English edition, p. 537), pointed to the consequences of industrializing on a capitalist basis and showed the way toward a socialist transformation of America. It was hardly possible for America in the 1820's to take the socialist path. Then capitalism was young, and there was immense scope for it to expand. It is rather now when it is overripe, and, unable to preoccupy itself internally, is building up a vast military machine and resorting to a criminal and dangerous imperialism that may soon, even if it does not take on an outright military-fascist form, go completely beyond the point of no return. Now, when its economy rests increasingly on world-wide foundations that are being constantly shaken up and undermined, the socialist road presents itself as a real possibility. And it is therefore surely now that the socialist precursors are likely to have a particular significance.

Sharpthorne, Sussex, England DAVID HARRIS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Arthur Marwick's provocative article, "The Labour Party and the Welfare State in Britain, 1900–1948" (*AHR,* LXXIII [Dec. 1967], 380–403), prompts me to write questioning an assumption about political change frequently made by younger scholars, one that is amply illustrated in this study. Too often historians take for granted that a call for legislation by their own particular subject of interest—the Fabian Society, the Trades Union Congress, the Tory Reform Committee—is, when the demanded law is subsequently passed, the sole cause of the new enactment. Usually they work from result to cause. They examine institutions already in being, such as the National Health Service or the Ministry of Health, and then look back to see whether their subject has not at some time demanded it. Finding that he has, and having an obvious result, they now assign a cause. One may describe this as the Chinese school of historical causation: The First World War ended in November 1918. Just a little more than a year earlier China

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had entered the conflict. Clearly the Chinese declaration of war caused Germany to surrender.

Professor Marwick in his concluding sentence attacks those historians who have followed the "established fashion" of neglecting Labour influence on British welfare policy and comes to the defense of earlier scholars who emphasize the Labour party's role. While I hardly feel that I count among those who have neglected Labour, I question whether Professor Marwick in defending Labour, which is already well defended at the London School of Economics, has not neglected everyone else. A few examples drawn from his article may show what I mean.

Professor Marwick begins by citing old-age pensions as an act in which Labour influence was important. The TUC, the Labour Representation Committee, and innumerable individual Labour candidates did, to be sure, support old-age pensions in the years before its final enactment in 1908, but both major parties had technically at least approved pensions in some form since 1899. The important body whose approval for pensions was needed was not the trade-union movement but the National Conference of Friendly Societies, with four times the TUC membership. And while a number of important Labour leaders did work on the National Committee of Organized Labour, a careful reading of the Reverend F. H. (not T. H. as on page 384) Stead's book on pensions, Fredrick Rodgers' memoirs (not mentioned, but should be, since Rodgers was paid secretary of the National Committee and resigned the chairmanship of the LRC), and G. N. Barnes's memoirs would show that the National Committee developed its own organization, that much of its work was done through religious bodies, that the people it most sought to influence were poor law guardians, that its most distinguished speaker was Charles Booth, a Conservative, and that the settlement house movement (Stead was a warden in one) gave it most of its organized outside support.

In contradiction to what is stated on page 384, the Liberals lost no seats to Labour at all during 1906 and lost that year only one by-election to anyone, a Unionist. The elections referred to were in July 1907 at Jarrow and Colne Valley. The difference in time is most important. By the summer of 1907 Asquith, as his papers show, was hard at work on his old-age pensions, and though the election losses may have represented a protest against Liberal delays, they can hardly be accounted a reason for a decision on pensions that the government had already made, albeit privately.

One other example, concerning the Ministry of Health, will suffice. While Professor Marwick admits (p. 389) that plans for a ministry of health were already "well advanced," he suggests that without a Labour party resolution in favor of such a ministry in 1918 they might "have been shelved." In fact, Labour's insistence (finally unsuccessful) that the projected ministry of health be separated from the administration of the poor law seriously delayed its establishment. In any case the ministry needed no outside support. The medical profession and the Morant-Newman-Addison coalition in the government had been advocating the ministry well before the war. In 1917 they had as a spokesman Lord Rhondda, who had made government approval of the ministry a condition of his translation from the Local Government Board to food controller. The Lloyd

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George Papers are full of letters from Rhondda reminding the Prime Minister of his promise and in one case affirming a veiled threat of resignation if it were not kept. No one of any importance opposed a ministry of health in principle, but linking its establishment with poor law reform, as Labour did, threatened for a time to make the passage of the bill a political impossibility.

These examples could be added to, but need not be only to illustrate a point. Professor Marwick's article is, I am afraid, a piece of modern scholasticism, attempting to prove, by deduction, propositions that for the writer are already a matter of faith. The achievements of the British Labour party are great enough as things stand. Assignment of new accomplishments will not increase its prestige.

University of Illinois, Chicago Circle BENTLEY B. GILBERT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Gilbert does well to alert us to the dangers of what, with scant respect for the disciples of the great Ssu-ma Ch'ien, he calls the Chinese school of historical causation. May I mention some of the other hazards to be encountered in our most perilous profession—specifically, the fallacy of the Power of Paper (a typically British weakness), the doctrine of the Definitive Work (an American failing), and the Conspiracy Theory of Historiography (a facet, alas, of the human condition).

I have to confess that my own first reaction to such remarks as "Churchill put the stamp of his generous view of mankind and its failings upon the nascent British welfare state" (Bentley B. Gilbert, "Winston Churchill versus the Webbs: The Origins of British Unemployment Insurance" [*AHR,* LXXI (Apr. 1966), 861]) was to take their author for a romantic Tory of the most absurd sort: a careful perusal of Professor Gilbert's outstandingly able *Evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain* made it clear that my instant judgment was quite unfounded. If Professor Gilbert would do me the honor of glancing at some of my other published work he will soon see that there is little question of my having any deep "faith" in the unspotted virtue of the British Labour party. I am delighted, of course, to have been provocative, but I fear I have provoked Professor Gilbert into pursuing red rags that do not actually exist: he has smashed a deal of china, but I do not recognize the potter's hand as my own. The point of the first part of my essay was not to cite old-age pensions as "an act in which Labour influence was important" (I said, "*marginally* . . . [it] . . . owed *something* to the Labour party") but to define the impotence of Labour at this time, "essentially a pressure group, limited and halting in most of its pronouncements."

Obviously it is essential that we have a theory of change more sophisticated than that derided by Professor Gilbert: mine will be found, briefly adumbrated in the current (III [Jan. 1968], 51–63) number of the *Journal of Contemporary History,* and, in more elaborate form in my *Britain in the Century of Total War: War, Peace and Social Change* (1968). Meantime I cannot see that I have made any naïve claims on behalf of the Labour party, essentially, as I wrote, an opposi-

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tion party in the period under review. Is it Professor Gilbert's contention that the historian should consider only the place holders, only those who pace the corridors of power, only the winners? In any case it is not enough to know how and why a specific act was passed: the social historian must explore its exact effects, if any, on social conditions and social relationships within the community. He should indeed consider how far social change takes place irrespective of the acts of statesmen. To stop at legislation, without regard to whether that legislation is in fact implemented, and, if implemented whether it is effective, is to be trapped in the fallacy of the Power of Paper. (How different, in how many countries, is the paper welfare state of the politicians and the real welfare state as it exists for its clients, the poor, the aged, and the sick!) Writing as though the mere establishment of the Ministry of Health was a matter of moment in itself, Professor Gilbert remarks that "Labour's insistence . . . that the projected ministry of health be separated from the administration of the poor law seriously delayed its establishment." As established, the Ministry of Health proved thoroughly ineffectual (save in respect to housing). It *may* be that on the matter of poor law administration Labour was wiser than the establishment bureaucrats Professor Gilbert so admires: Labour, as I said in my article, was undoubtedly *wrong* in its stress on maintaining the powers of the local authorities.

What Professor Gilbert fails to realize is that while we may both be labeled twentieth-century British social historians we are not necessarily interested in the same problems. My ultimate concern is with the actual social conditions under which people live, and therefore with the imperfections of social legislation as much as with its origins. To understand why social provision in Britain today is still inadequate, why the class structure is still so rigid, I believe it is essential to study the Labour legislation of 1945–1948; to understand the imperfections of that legislation, I believe it is necessary to study earlier Labour attitudes to social policy. In pursuing that line of thought I suppose I have "neglected everyone else," though I do not need Professor Gilbert to explain to me the importance of Lord Rhondda as "an architect of the Ministry of Health" (my phrase, *The Deluge* [1965], p. 11). I was doing, however imperfectly, what must be the humble task of most of us: making a limited, but I believe significant, contribution to knowledge whose exact scale I defined at the outset.

It so happens that in our interpretation of British social history Professor Gilbert and I do disagree. But however much Professor Gilbert may regret not having been featured in my catalogue of "those who have neglected Labour," my article was not the place to take issue with Professor Gilbert's views on "state socialism" or on 1906 (according to his book; he says 1911 in his *AHR* article) as a point of change in British social policy. That does not mean that I do not wholeheartedly admire *The Evolution of National Insurance* as one of the great works of scholarship in the field in which Professor Gilbert and I both labor; nor does it mean that I feel called upon to make patronizing references either to Professor Gilbert's political affiliations or to his understanding of historical processes.

University of Edinburgh ARTHUR MARWICK

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1. Date of Filing, September 28, 1967; 2. Title of Publication, THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; 3. Frequency of Issue, Five times a year; 4. Location of Known Office of Publication: 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228; 5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: 866 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10022.

6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: Publisher, The Macmillan Company, 866 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10022, for the American Historical Association; Editor, Henry R. Winkler, 400 A Street S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003; Managing Editor, Henry R. Winkler, 400 A Street S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

7. Owner: The American Historical Association, 400 A Street S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003; The American Historical Association has no ownership. It is a nonprofit membership corporation created by Act of Congress on January 4, 1889, for the promotion of historical studies and kindred purposes.

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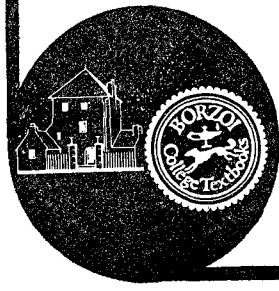
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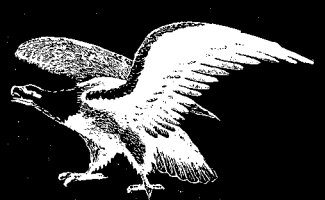
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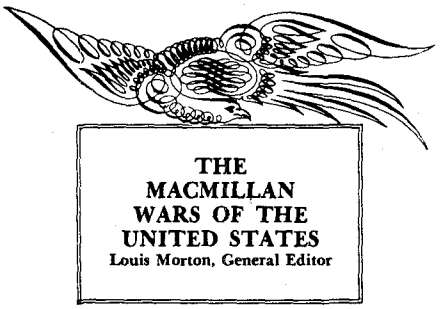
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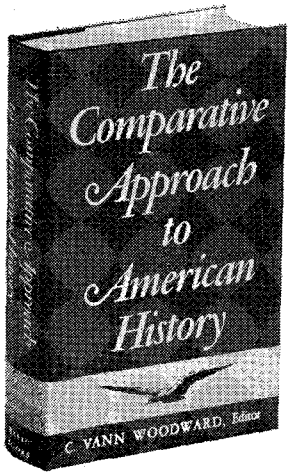
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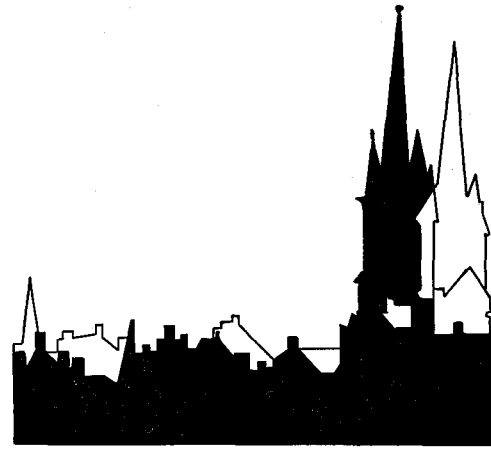
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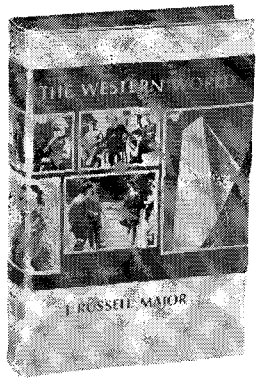
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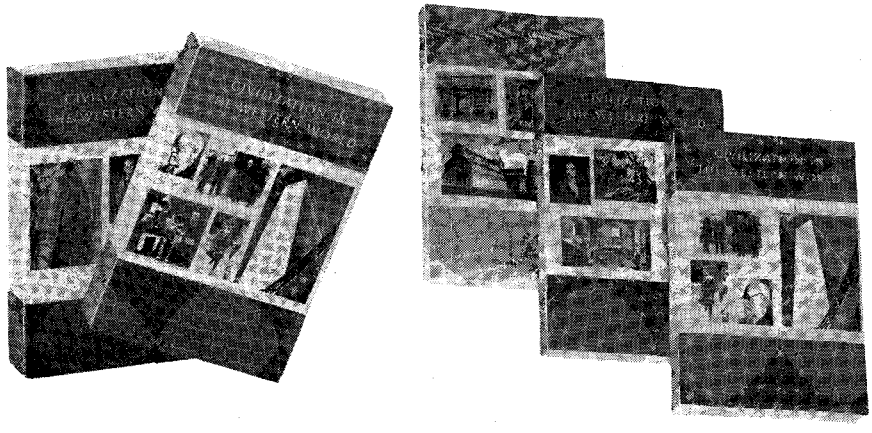
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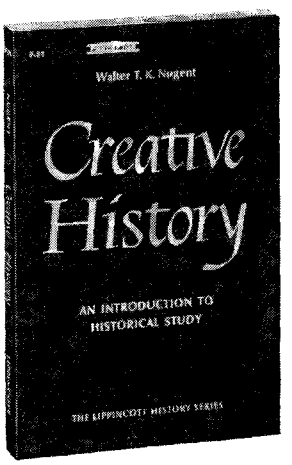
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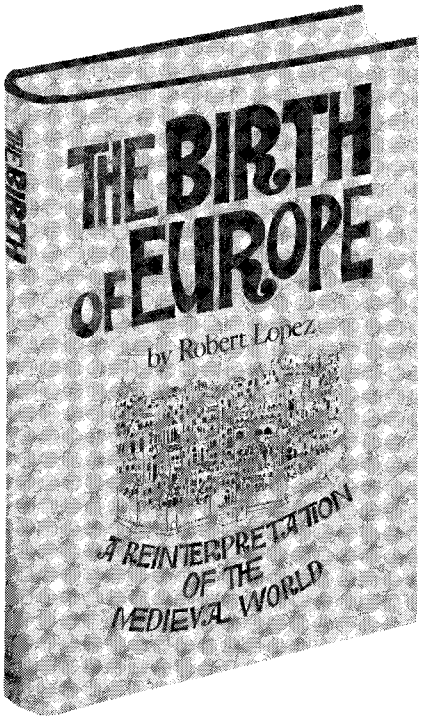


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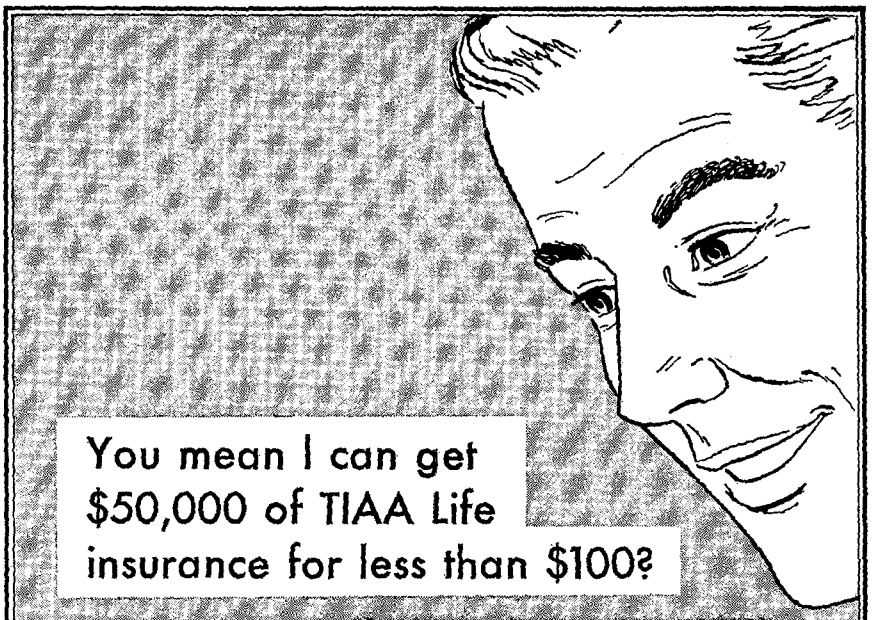
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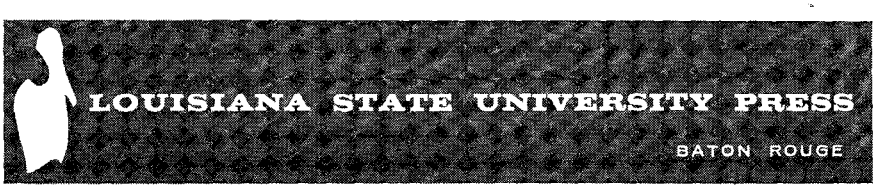
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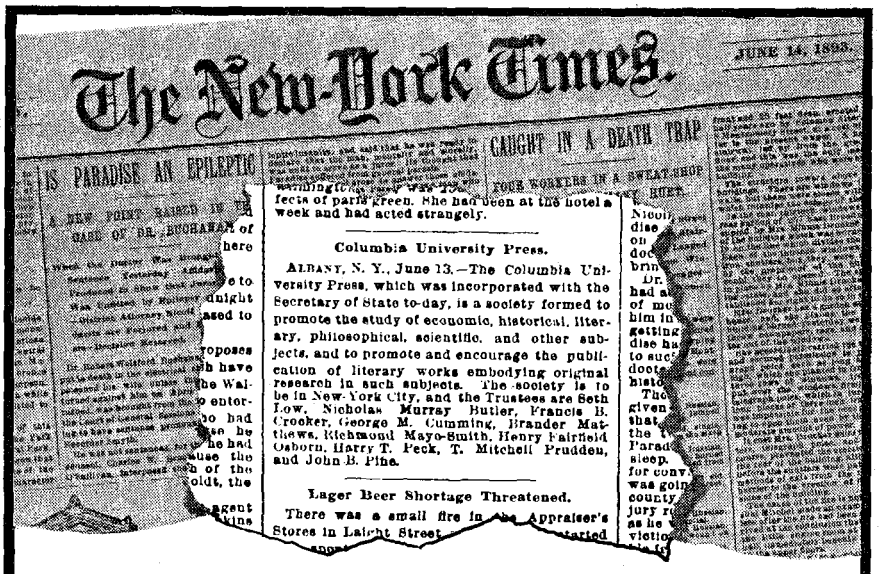
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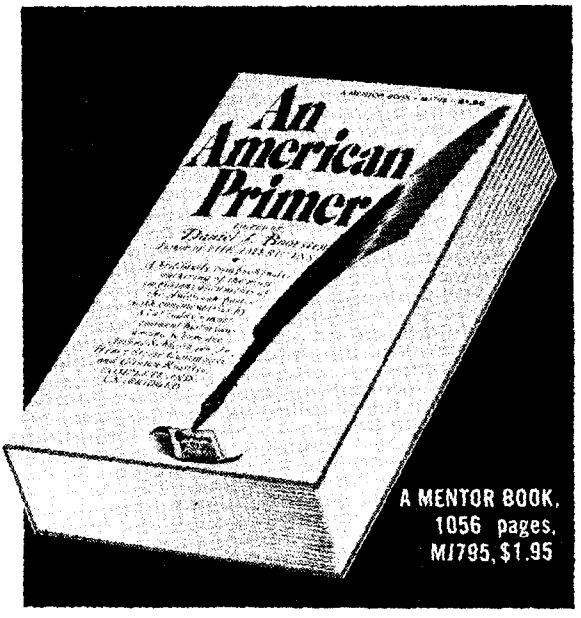
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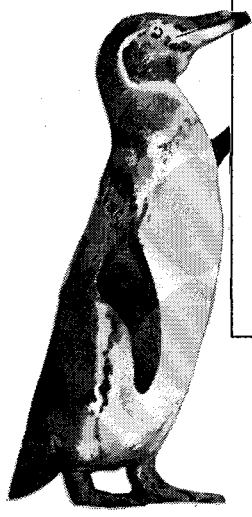
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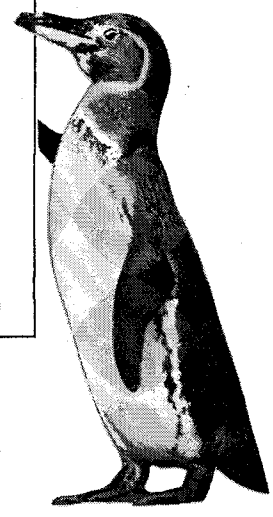
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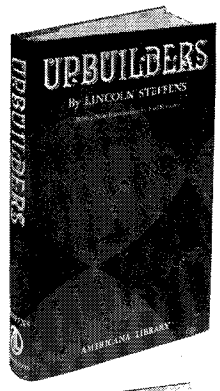
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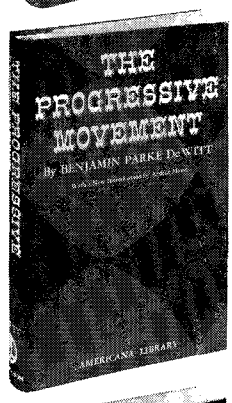
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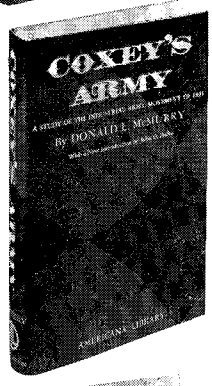
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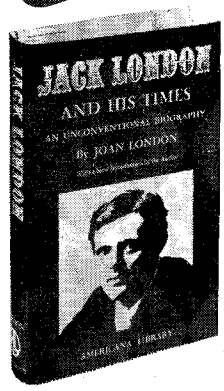


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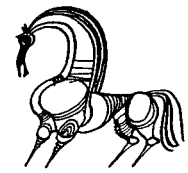
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